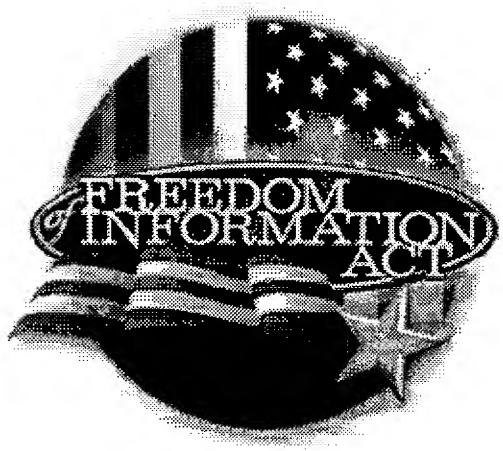
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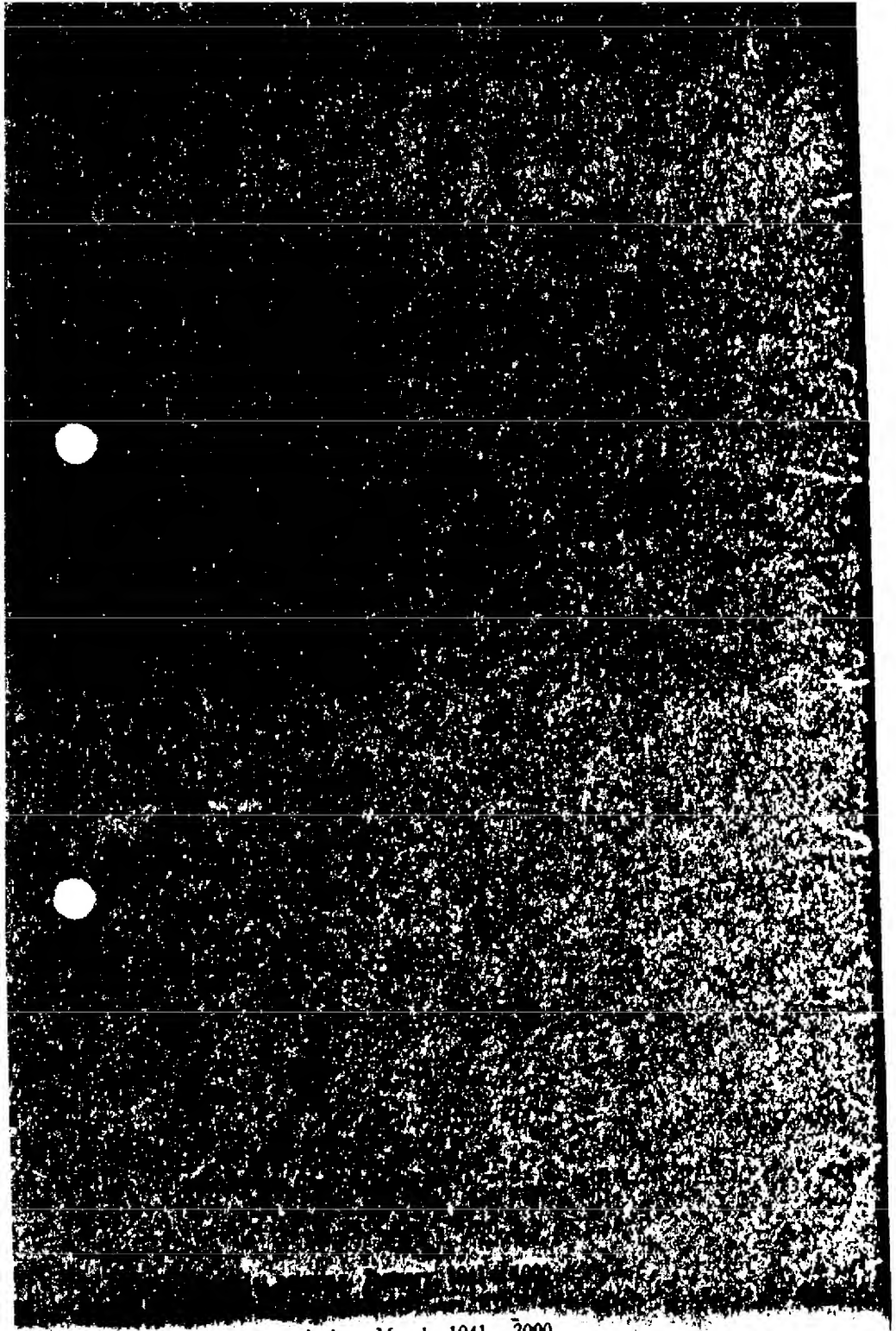
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**PART: 14 OF 19**




# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

# WORLD ORGANIZATION



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# World Organization

## An Outline of Some Problems and Recent Proposals For Federation

## For Use of Study Groups or General Reading

by

OLIVE I. REDDICK

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WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM
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This study outline was written at the request of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom by Olive I. Reddick (Ph.D. Radcliffe), Professor of Economics in Hood College, Frederick, Maryland.

# Organization of a World Government

## INTRODUCTION

Although for hundreds of years occasional individuals have shown a deep interest in developing an international government, it is only in the present century that this interest has spread among the people of many countries, with an actual faith in the practicability of substituting law for international anarchy. This interest and faith on the part of millions of people form the necessary foundations for such a government. They should be built upon without delay.

But who shall build and how? And how shall the interest and faith be augmented during the dark days of war and failure? Here is a task — of thought, of study, of right propaganda, which falls upon all who will accept the burden. To have an opinion worthy of expression because it is based upon facts and not prejudice, because it is consistent in principle, because it provides practical suggestions — this is the aim of all who will take up a serious study of world government.

Americans are in a peculiarly difficult, as well as a peculiarly strategic, position in such a study. Would the United States join a world government? What part shall we be able to play beyond the stage of theorizing? If advice is the utmost we can give, should we then be silent? Do we, as individuals, earnestly want the U. S. to join such a union or federation as we shall conclude best from our study? That means, do we want the U. S. to make the national sacrifices which such membership would necessitate? And could a new "league of nations" succeed without the U. S.? Exactly what is our responsibility?

While all of these questions must be faced sincerely and intelligently by Americans interested in world peace, we who feel that we are not merely Americans, but are American members of the human race — individuals with our share of responsibility to institutions broader than our national government as well as to institutions narrower — have a right to add our thought to the thought of sincere people everywhere toward building a new world order.

It is true, also, on a less idealistic plane, that all nations must be interested in international peace as they are interested in national survival. In the past year a number of books and pamphlets on international government have been written, many of them by

Americans. Many of these have little to say about the ideals of justice, and democracy, and positive peace, but instead make an eloquent plea for an organization to abolish international anarchy in order that we may survive. Doubtless self-interest is the strongest motive to which we can appeal, and perhaps even the U. S. may find it profitable to cooperate actively in establishing a world government, for the richest nation, like the richest man, has the most to lose. At any rate, we can only go forward from where we are, knowing that the part we can play in the realization of our dreams will depend partly upon our national willingness to contribute to the solution of the world's problems, and partly upon the willingness of other nations to receive that contribution.

Most of the recent writing on the subject of world government was done on the assumption that the Allies would win the war — even in the cases where the author admitted that this assumption m[illegible] prove illusory. It is much easier to build up a system when we think we know upon what it will be based. What will be possible in the field of international cooperation if Germany wins the war is less clear. Nevertheless, we must remember all possible contingencies as we think through our own principles and framework.

The present course studies three divisions of the subject of organization of world government:

**FIRST PART. HISTORY.**

Lesson I. Past Role of the United States in International Organization.

**SECOND PART. PRINCIPLES.**

Lesson II. World Government. Basic Preliminary Questions.
Lesson III. Economic Cooperation Necessary for World Government.
Lesson IV. Economic Problems — Internal.
Lesson V. Political Organization of World Government.
Lesson VI. Political Issues.

**THIRD PART. PROPOSALS.**

Lesson VII. League of Nations, with Proposed Reforms.
Lesson VIII. Pan-Europa. Regional Pacts.
Lesson IX. Federation of Nations. (The Campaign for World Government.)
Lesson X. Federal Union. (Union Now.)
Lesson XI. A Plan for World Government.

The term "world government" is used here without definition to include any degree of federation or union by which nations attempt to govern themselves in collaboration. Throughout, emphasis is placed upon thinking through principles to conclusions which are consistent with facts.



## FIRST PART. HISTORY.

### Lesson I. Past Role of U. S. in International Organization.

#### 1. The Hague

The First Hague Peace Conference met in 1899 and established the Permanent Court of Arbitration to facilitate arbitration of international disputes. There is no compulsion to submit disputes or to abide by awards. The Court consists of a panel of judges appointed by all adherent countries, from whom arbitrators are chosen for particular cases. The United States is a member of this Court, and has submitted a number of disputes to it for settlement. The Permanent Court of Arbitration continues to exist alongside the Permanent Court of International Justice (World Court).

#### 2. The League of Nations

The League of Nations was established in 1920 by the Covenant which forms Part I of the Treaty of Versailles. Although the United States, through President Wilson, had a large share in originating the League of Nations, our government never joined it. About sixty nations, including all the important countries except the United States, have belonged to the League. The United States has cooperated with the League from time to time, either through unofficial observers, or by joining subsidiary or correlative organizations, such as in the World Disarmament Conference and the International Labor Organization.

No one can know what the fate of the League of Nations would have been if it had had the support of the United States. But it is to be regretted that in the first great international effort made by practically all nations toward world order, the United States did not cooperate more.

#### 3. The Permanent Court of International Justice

The World Court was created in 1920 as a part of the League of Nations system. Although a judicial court had been favored by Americans at the Hague Conferences, and although the World Court which finally emerged was sponsored by Americans, the United States has never joined the Court.

#### 4. The International Labor Organization.

The International Labor Organization, also a coordinate of the League, was established to improve conditions of labor and lay a foundation for peace in social justice. In 1934 the Congress of the United States voted to join this organization. Since then Americans have been prominent in carrying on its work.

5. **The Pan-American Union**

The Pan-American Union, first called the International Bureau of American Republics, was established in 1890 by the First International Pan-American Conference. This organization was at first under the supervision of the Secretary of State, and the Secretary of State is still customarily elected chairman of the governing Board. The purpose of the Union originally was to promote inter-American commercial relations, but its activities grew to include cultural and social matters, and finally, recently, political interests. There is no authoritative body; the Conferences pass resolutions which must then be adopted by the respective Governments or embodied in treaties.

6 **Various Miscellaneous Organizations, in Specific and Limited Fields.**

The League of Nations Handbook of International Organizations lists hundreds of such bodies, most of them, however, private. Schmeckebier lists 29 that are permanent with a central office and a budget, to which the United States belonged in 1934. The interests of these organizations are varied, but the economic and social perhaps predominate. The following are examples:

International Bureau of the Universal Postal Union
International Bureau of Weights and Measures
International Bureau of Agriculture
International Bureau of Public Health
Bureau of the International Telecommunication Union
Inter-American Trade Mark Registration Bureau.

**Questions for Discussion.**

1. Examine the role of the United States in international organizations up to the present. Note negative and positive types of cooperation. Upon what principle or basis should membership in international organizations be decided by the United States?
2. Do you think we were right or wrong in not joining the League of Nations? Why?
3. What part do you believe the United States (a) can play (b) should play (c) will play, in any future world government?



## SECOND PART. PRINCIPLES.

### Lesson II. World Government. Basic Preliminary Questions.

Certain choices must be made — between the ideal and the immediate, between principle and practicality, among fundamental points of view and final aims. It is wise to adopt first a point of view, a standard for testing, for discriminating, for choosing. Without such preliminary thought, we become hopelessly confused by later issues.

1. **The Ideal versus the Immediate.**

a. To what extent shall we draw up an ideal form of government with little or no reference to current situations? To what extent shall we be guided by what seems possible, although it is far from ideal?

It is much easier to construct, to agree about, to study, an ideal; it is also highly useful to have in mind the final goal, otherwise we may move in the wrong direction. The final goal must be a test of the immediate steps. But shall we compromise this ideal—ever— for the sake of the immediate?

b. It will be impossible to get very general agreement, even among those passionately desiring a world government, on any part of any proposal. (Test this in your study group. See if your small group agrees unanimously on any proposal, whether major or minor.) Must we wait for such agreement? Must we compromise?

It will be well to decide first whether you will ever compromise your ideal, and if so, under what circumstances.

c. If, in order to make some progress in world organization, we accept less than the ideal, it will be important to see to it that:

(1) the compromise does not make impossible a movement toward the ideal.

(2) provision is made for orderly revision.

(3) the emphasis is right.

d. Discuss the following problem to illustrate the present issue:

Can there be permanent peace without disarmament? Will you agree to a form of world government that does not provide for immediate disarmament? Is there any likelihood that nations, under present circumstances, will agree to disarm?

Suggest other illustrative questions.

2. **Principle versus Practicality.**

It will be well to see clearly, before considering compromise, whether the question involves a principle or is only a question of what is practical. Such thought will help to determine how far one will go to meet the views of others, and what one's absolute minimum is. It will be relatively easy to agree to compromise on matters of practicality, relatively difficult on matters of principle. Throughout the study course, apply this test.

**For Discussion:** Which of the following questions may be compromised:

a. Whether the League of Nations should be revised, or a wholly new organization built?

b. Whether a democratic bill of rights must be a *sine qua non* for membership?

c. Whether nations joining the federation must agree to immediate disarmament?

3. **What is the Fundamental Aim? Peace? Order? Justice? Democracy?**

One must be able to choose among his aims. Here, as always, the situation is complex; one must see it in its proportions and relationships.

a. Do you think of peace as merely an absence of war? Do you distinguish between this negative peace, and a positive peace which implies a peaceful living together in harmony?

Negative peace, or peace as order, might be maintained better under dictatorship than under democracy. Would you, then, favor dictatorship?

b. Positive peace may be thought of as peace with justice Would you be willing to fight to correct injustice? Would you favor revolution against an unjust government? What do you mean by justice?

c. Is it true that "War never settles anything"? Give historical cases.

d. Clarence Streit seems to put democracy above peace as the final aim. Would you agree?

e. State as clearly as possible your fundamental aim for world government.



4. **Points of View: Nationalist; Internationalist; World.**

a. What differentiates these points of view?

(1) Nationalist. This may be narrowly isolationist or may favor cooperation with other nations solely in the interests of America and to that extent only.

(2) Internationalist. This would favor inter-state cooperation for the development of all nations equally, but always as independent nations.

(3) World. This would minimize state boundaries and emphasize non-political unities leading finally to a "higher-than-national" loyalty without, however, sacrificing any characteristic national cultures or biological distinctions.

b. Get a clear conception of these different points of view by applying them to specific questions, e.g., the tariff policy of the United States. Then adopt one of these points of view as your own, and use it in determining your conclusions regarding all other questions. This will help a little in tearing apart very tough problems, and will give consistency to your thinking. (The word "state" is used throughout in the accepted sense of a nation as a political unit.)

## Lesson III. Economic Cooperation — Necessary for World Government.

We shall find that it is impossible to separate the economic and the political issues. The political problems are, in general, those dealing with the location of authority, and the rights and responsibilities of those subject to that authority. The economic problems usually are related to objective acts by the State and their effects on the welfare of the people. They interact upon each other. Some believe the economic problems are more easily solved, because they seem more concrete and less emotional. Others, like Briand, believe we must begin with the political. Doubtless any satisfactory world government must settle at least a minimum of both. Some groups — for instance, with totalitarian or laissez faire philosophies — fear that a world government may place a straight-jacket upon the soldier or the business man. No world government can eliminate individual differences, victories and defeats, in business and many other fields. As the arena widens, so do the opportunities.

### What will be the minimum in economic organization necessary for the maintenance of world peace?

A nation's economic problems are internal and external. It is usually the latter that are thought of when international peace is discussed. We must consider, however, whether internal economic conditions may also have to be changed: this question will be discussed in the next lesson. The present lesson deals with external economic relations.

1. **Foreign Trade.**

   a. The consumers of all nations want to import; it is an advantage to secure from other nations those commodities we cannot produce, or cannot produce so cheaply. Yet national policy is against imports. Why? Why do we have a protective tariff?

   b. All nations want to export. People are led to believe that exports benefit a country more than imports do. Examine this belief. May exports harm a country, for example, when the fertility and resources of the land are shipped away? Hitler has said that Germany must export or die. Why? Must the United States export or die? What is the relation between a particular nation's exports and imports? — in quantity? in kind?

   c. Discuss the methods used by nations to restrict their trade: tariffs, quotas, embargoes. What are the objections to these? If trade restrictions harm international relations,



and help to bring about war, should a nation have a right to impose such restrictions at will? Who should decide what restrictions are permissible?

If a nationally desirable removal of restrictions caused economic loss to a group, as the lowering of tariffs on Argentine beef might harm the beef producers of this country, what should be done? Should the interests of the group rule? Or should the interests of the group be sacrificed? Or should a method be found for sharing the loss among all the people of the nation?

d. The "Hull trade-agreements program" has as its aim the reduction of trade barriers. Study the facts of this program. Is it very important? Is it an adequate means of restoring world trade or only a "drop in the bucket?" Perhaps it is most important as a symbol.

e. Recently the growth of international cartels has augmented the control of international trade. This is a partial application of "planning" in the international sphere. In theory it is antagonistic to free trade. Some believe that free trade is of the past, and planning is of the future. We should examine the possibility of international control of trade as contributing to a peaceful world, also the possibility of rescuing distressed nations by an extension of the Excess Commodities Plan ("dumping" regulated by the World Government).

2. **Currency stability and foreign exchange.**

   a. One way of controlling trade is through the control of foreign exchange; i.e., the "money" with which foreign goods are bought and sold. Germany has used this method chiefly.
   b. Some nations have altered their currency with the purpose of increasing their exports. This causes instability in the other countries affected. Should a country have a right to alter its money on its own authority?

   c. What would be the advantages of an "international currency"?

   d. This problem is one in which the internal and external interests of a country are inseparable, and yet somewhat contradictory. To what extent should authority be handed over to an international body?

3. **Raw materials.**

   a. A great deal has been said about "have" and "have-not" nations. When objective studies are made, we find that some nations which claim to be "have-nots" have more than some nations which they accuse as "haves", (e.g., in Kranold's study, Germany ranked higher than France.) We should beware of slogans and catch phrases.

b. The physical needs of a country are too varied and the distribution of resources too haphazard over the earth for nations to dream of controlling all the raw material sources which they need. Only a very few countries can have such a dream, and its very fulfillment makes it impossible for the rest of the nations. However, if raw materials are freely bought and sold, an equivalent situation prevails. But every country is afraid of a time of war, when it may be cut off from its source of supply. However, even then control of the sea would be more necessary than control of the country producing the raw materials.

c. In view of this fear, nations have been trying to free themselves from the need of such sources by inventing substitutes for essential materials. Germany is producing artificial wool, rubber, oil. Rayon and nylon are making us independent of Japanese silk. Such production may lower the standard of living of the country. However, it will at the same time remove the necessity of controlling natural sources of supply. This has a double effect and should make countries which are dependent for their welfare upon selling (rather than upon buying) these raw materials aware of the danger to themselves of placing restrictions on the sale of their commodities. The cases of Chile's nitrates and Malay's rubber are examples. Perhaps when the present process of industrialization is complete trade will become relatively unnecessary.

d. What solution do you suggest for the "raw materials" problem?

4. International capital investment.

a. If a "backward" nation possesses large natural resources of use to the world, what principle should govern their development? Must the world wait until the "backward" nation is no longer backward and can develop its own resources? Must the "backward" nation submit to foreign exploitation of its resources and lose the wealth of its country? Is there any middle ground solution?

b. The United States in the 19th century received a great deal of foreign capital (capital invested in the United States by foreigners) without creating the problems which, for example, Mexico faces as a result of American and British investment. What made the two cases different?



## Lesson IV. Economic Problems — Internal.

**Must a world government concern itself with internal economic problems of its member states?**

1. Must peace and justice exist within nations before they can be maintained between nations?

   Can peace and justice exist in a nation that has (a) great inequality of income; (b) great inequality of opportunity?

2. Can peace be maintained between nations of very different standards of living? Some people believe it cannot — for example, that we shall not have stable peace as long as the annual per capita income in the United States is so much greater than that in Japan. Do you see any reason to support this view?

   The United States takes the position that it must maintain its higher standard of living at all costs, even of war. Do you agree? For the sake of peace, would you be willing to adopt an economic policy which would tend to equalize the standards of living of all countries? Apply this theory to some specific policy, such as tariff policy.

   What program might be adopted by the whole world which would enable substandard nations, by being industrious and wise, to close the gap between them and more prosperous nations? Do you think a leveling up or a leveling down is a more effective economic and social program?

3. The International Labor Organization attempts to establish labor standards among its member states. Do you think we can or should try to equalize labor standards of different countries? Should there be an "International Wages and Hours Law", with the World Government empowered to make exceptions for an approved purpose of national or international benefit, and for a definite temporary period? How gradual would such an equalization of standards have to be? How is this question related to the question of the standard of living?

4. Do you believe we can have international good will with the present immigration policies and policies concerning minorities? Compare the immigration policy of the United States with those of Great Britain and Germany, prior to the war.

5. What would be the advantages of having an internationally controlled organization for the investment of money in countries needing capital for public or private works?

6. Compare the willingness of Americans to make a sacrifice for peace with their willingness to undertake the huge costs and sacrifices of war. Compare the costs of armaments and war with the costs of such peaceful, goodwill policies as admitting refugees.

**For Discussion:**

1. How great a financial sacrifice would you be willing for our country to make if necessary to win a war? to establish peace? Apply the implications of this question to our relations with Mexico.
2. Whatever the economic and financial costs of building a peaceful world, the economic and financial gains are apt to be greater. No country has been able to become strong economically until order was established within its borders. International chaos hinders economic progress, quite aside from the actual costs of waging wars. It would be wise economy to make necessary financial sacrifices for peace.

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## Lesson V. The Political Organization of World Government.

It is often said that no mere organization or form of government, no matter how perfect, can guarantee peace. This is very true. We need something more than machinery. Nevertheless, without the machinery for building peace, we shall not build it. If we are realistic, we shall depend neither too much nor too little on organization; but we shall certainly build a framework as perfect as we can within which international peace and order can function.

One of the greatest achievements of this century is the League of Nations. Because its success was limited, it has become fashionable to repudiate or scorn it. Doubtless future historians will give a different—and more favorable—judgment. It was rather stupid of us to suppose that our very first effort in so new and great a venture would succeed perfectly. Nevertheless, we should now examine carefully the causes of weakness in the League, and build better the second time.

### 1. An organization of states or of peoples?

The League of Nations is an organization of states; the men who form the Council and Assembly are official representatives of their governments. It seems fair to say that they are FIRST officials of their states, working for the interests of their states, and only secondly representatives of the League of Nations. And being officials (often officials of first rank, as foreign ministers) they must constantly preserve the prestige of their governments. Prestige is a rock upon which peace easily breaks.



It is often declared that this kind of representation is one of the chief reasons for the League's failures.

It is now being proposed that the new world government should represent peoples and not states; that the men sent to Geneva (or wherever) shall be elected by the people, as are the men who are sent to Washington. In such an organization there could be more than one point of view within a delegation.

Do you believe this is a sound principle?

### 2. An inter-state or a super-state?

a. Try to find a clear meaning for the words alliance, federation, confederation, union, federal union. How do these differ?

b. The League of Nations is inter-state. It is a loose confederation of states, in which the national governments cooperate only so long as their own interests, as they conceive them, are served. The League has no real authority, as events have proved. The absolute sovereignty of the member states is preserved through the unanimity rule, that is, in the League, with certain exceptions noted in the Covenant, a single negative vote from the smallest member is sufficient to defeat the proposition.

c. Many people now believe that no world government can succeed unless it has some authority over its members in limited, agreed-upon fields. This means some sacrifice of sovereignty on the part of the member-states.

How great this sacrifice of sovereignty must be would be determined by what minimum authority the League must possess in order to preserve peace.

Do you believe that every nation should have absolute sovereignty, to follow its own course in the world regardless of the interests of other states? (Compare the states in the United States.)

d. In what fields do you think a transfer of sovereignty to a world organization necessary? desirable? Would you be willing for the United States to transfer sovereignty in these fields? Upon what conditions?

e. Authority of the world government — advisory? partial? final? This is the same question as sovereignty. Should the League have the power only to advise? advise and bring pressure? make final decision? partial (in some questions)? or complete (in all questions)? There may be no more vital question than this in the whole study of world government. The question of authority raises the question of enforcement and means of enforcement. This will be considered in the next lesson.

f. Do you see any dangers of a super-state? What? How could they be forestalled?

### 3. Basis of membership.

a. Membership will, of course, have to be voluntary, although the League might consider whether it could or should bring any pressure to bear upon nations to join — even the indirect pressure of creating advantages for members.

b. But shall any restrictions be imposed, in the form of standards that must be maintained by members? One suggested minimum standard is a bill of rights. This idea appeals to the democracies, as it already forms the basis of their governments. It probably would not appeal to the dictatorships.

c. It will be necessary for us who are interested in peace through world government to ask ourselves whether we should exclude some nations by putting up democratic standards, or include all nations by having no standards at all. In general, it would be a mistake to try to impose our own views on others — except where these views are essential to the foundation of the government. Is democracy such a view?

d. During the recent years of its weakness, many have proposed revision of the League of Nations. One reason why these proposals never succeeded in changing the League was that one group wanted to revise the League toward a broader and shallower basis, which would exclude no nation; the other wanted to revise the League toward a narrower and deeper basis, which would exclude those members not really willing to cooperate. This is a choice that must be made openly and definitely in the new world government. However attractive the idea of having all nations join may be, it is well to remember that the political philosophy of some nations today holds that all sacrifices must be made for the aggrandizement of the national state, and that the sovereignty of the state must never be questioned, even in terms of the rights of its citizens, to say nothing of the rights of other nations. It is questionable whether the membership of such states would add any strength to the world government. They would probably be a liability in all periods of crisis — and even in ordinary times, as there would be constant pressure on the League to make concessions to hold them.

e. Some hold the view that the basis of membership should be geographic — that the organization should be regional. Some think that one mistake of the League of Nations was in trying to include too much, and that it would be wiser to work up from regional organizations, like the Pan-American Union and the much-discussed United States of Europe or even the Danubian Union — to a world organization. Others feel that this basis would be fatal, because it would emphasize conflicting interests and align different parts of the world against each other. Perhaps the middle ground of regional pacts plus a world organization above them would be most fruitful.

f. We may have a world organization or partial organizations. If the latter, the basis of membership may be (1) geographic (e.g., Central Europe, the Oslo States, Europe); (2) ideological (the democracies); (3) other points of self-interest (e.g., the British Empire). From the point of view of success, which would you advocate?



## Lesson VI. Political Issues.

Besides the question of framework and underlying principles, there are many political questions to which answers must be found. The more thoroughly one has been able to determine governing principles, the more easily one can find satisfactory and consistent answers. Some of these questions are to be discussed now.

### 1. Colonies.

After the last war, the League instituted a system of mandates, whereby countries not deemed ready for independence could be guided and controlled by other countries — but in terms of the interests of the governed. The former German colonies were handed over to the Allies under this system. This deprivation of colonies is one of the grievances constantly put forward by Germany. There may also be friction between a colony and the governing country; an important example is India. In a somewhat similar case the United States decided to grant independence to the Philippines. In all these cases, why does one country want control over another?

If the population of Holland has doubled in recent years, is that partly because of positions opened to the Dutch in Java? Could these Dutchmen have been employed in Java if it had not been governed by Holland? Would you rather invest in a free or colonial Java?

Does the case of colonies represent a field in which states should give up their sovereignty to the League? Discuss the advantages and disadvantages.

Should the mandate system of the League be revised and used?

### 2. Minorities and migration.

Another pressing problem in the world today is the treatment of minorities, with that of migration in general and of refugees in particular. This problem is one of ethical ideals and of economics. A fundamental principle of democratic government in the United States (sometimes violated in practice) has been respect for the rights of minorities. As more and more nations close their doors against immigrants, the plight of those persecuted minorities becomes intolerable. Almost literally there is no place in the world today where they can find a home.

Do you believe, in the case of the United States, that economic interests and democratic ideals are in conflict, especially in respect to immigration?

Should minimum rights for minorities be enforced by the League? Alfred Bingham suggests that the right to emigrate with property be guaranteed. (Doubtless he refers to property legitimately acquired.)

How should the refugee problem (usually of racial or political minorities) be solved? Might this involve some control over immigration laws of member states? Would you favor free passage among all member states for the citizens of all? Would you advocate some such rule as this: that a country with a living standard above the world average should be required to accept a certain percentage of immigrants from a substandard country providing the latter had fulfilled certain requirements, such as having raised its standard of living during the preceding decade?

3. **World Citizenship.**
Would you provide for a new world citizenship for citizens of member states, so that men would have a dual citizenship—national and international—as at present Americans are citizens of both their state and the nation? If so, what would you include as (a) privileges, (b) responsibilities of such citizens?

4. **Foreign Policy.**
Control over the relations between states involves some limitation of power in foreign policy. This may be so small as merely the obligation to register treaties with the central government, or it may at the other extreme take away the treaty-making power from the individual states. How far would you go? Would you permit member states to carry on a foreign policy including contracting treaties with other states, whether members of the League or not, with no control whatever by the League? Would the League itself have a "foreign policy" to which the member states would have to conform?

5. **Police Force or International Army.**

1. Would you provide for any means of enforcement, by the world government, beyond persuasion? Many advocates of world government believe that no force should be used at all. What are the arguments for and against the enforcement of decisions?

2. Some advocate what they call enforcement against individuals but not against nations. Examine this position. Are there any examples in the United States' history where the federal government coerced state or municipal governments?

3. There are, of course, other kinds of force than military or physical. One is economic. Do you believe that economic pressure, even to the extent of "rewarding your friends and penalizing your enemies" in trade, is justified? Would you use all kinds of force but in limited degrees, or certain kinds of force, or no force?



4. Many believe that the failure of the League of Nations was in part due to its inability to enforce its decisions, either through its lack of police power or its unwillingness to carry through the use of economic weapons.

5. In a state there is certainly a difference between a police force and an army. Could a similar difference be maintained in a world government? How would you construct the police force of a world government in order to keep it from becoming a mere army? How would you insure that it would be loyal to the world government if decisions had to be enforced against a country to which some of its members belonged? It is probable that the international police force, if any, should not be constructed out of units contributed by the various governments, but that the world government should have the power to secure and pay for its own police.

6. Should the world government defend itself against attack (a) by non-member states (b) by member states? Would the nations joining a world government be justified in expecting from it protection from attack by other nations?

6. **Armaments.**

1. Can we have peace without complete disarmament? Can we have complete disarmament without peace? Are armaments a cause, or an effect, or both? What lesson might be learned from the history of the end of the feudal lords' power by the kings? of the ending of dueling and border law by the States?

2. Should complete disarmament be made a prerequisite for organizing or joining a world government? If it is, do you believe that nations would join? If nations will not disarm until they have, or think they have, security, how would you bring about that security?

3. As a substitute for immediate and complete disarmament, some advocate a limitation of arms through international control of their manufacture and shipment. That is, armaments would be controlled, or even monopolized, by the world government. Some would begin with international control of air forces.

4. Associated with the question of arms is the question of men. Should the world government allow member states to adopt conscription?

5. How is your view on the questions in this topic affected by your view of the preceding topic, i.e., whether or not force should ever be used by the world government, and whether the world government should have a police force or army? How would the view of nations joining the League be affected by this same matter?

7. Many more questions might be asked. At the least, those mentioned above must be answered. Examine them from the point of view of principle and practicality. Which ones can you afford to compromise? Which answers would wreck all chance of success in building a world government?

## THIRD PART. PROPOSALS.

A great many proposals have been made for some kind of international organization, over a period of centuries. It is encouraging to see how many people have been interested in working out a framework of government by which the nations might control their international life by law. In this section we shall examine a few of them that have come since the World War, namely, the League of Nations, then Pan-Europa, then several others that have been prominent in the news recently or that offer some contrasts, and finally one presented by the writer of the study course.

These schemes, including many not examined here, differ greatly both in details and in fundamentals. They range from a world-wide union to a small defensive pact. Some are based on the League of Nations, some are more inclusive, some less. Some emphasize the economic, others the political; some are on an ideological base, and others on a geographic. Some begin as realistically as possible with the peace at the close of the present war; some (perhaps written earlier) set forth an ideal with little reference to temporary difficulties. All of the former assume that the Allies will win; no one struggles with the problem of international government in a totalitarian world. Most of those who wish to begin in a limited sphere have in mind an eventual world organization.

Certainly in many of these matters, practicality will dictate. It would be fatal, however, to begin with a form which showed no promise or capacity of developing into the ideal.

The survey given here of the various proposals is necessarily fragmentary. They may be studied further in writings suggested in the bibliography. Groups using this outline have by now thought through certain fundamental principles and practical considerations. The most beneficial study will be an appraisal of the suggested plans by these standards, and perhaps the construction of a modified plan by the group. Since we all earnestly desire the day when the world governed by law, we shall have to come to a working agreement at least, on some concrete form of international government.



## Lesson VII.—League of Nations, with Proposed Reforms

### A. Structure and Function of the League of Nations.

1. Basis of membership: inclusive, but on a two-thirds vote of Assembly. A member may also be expelled by the Assembly.

2. Framework:

**Assembly.**

a. All member states equally represented: principle of state equality.

b. Representatives appointed by the government, representing states rather than peoples.

c. Voting must be unanimous (with certain noted exceptions): principle of state sovereignty. The negative vote of any one state defeats a proposal.

d. Assembly elects states to membership; elects non-permanent members of Council.

e. Assembly may have disputes referred to it from Council; may deal with any matter within sphere of League.

**Council.**

a. Great Powers have permanent seats (4 to 6); others, non-permanent, elected by Assembly (9).

b. Supervises mandates;
Hears complaints under minorities treaties;
Acts as conciliation body, in inter-state disputes;
Deals with any matter within sphere of League.

Council and Assembly are essentially independent of each other, not like a two-house legislature. Except—the two act together in

a. Amending Covenant

b. Enlarging the Council

c. Electing judges of Permanent Court of International Justice.

**Secretariat.**

a. Permanent administrative body. Secretary appointed by Council, approved by Assembly.

b. No separate power invested in Secretariat.
Prepares agenda for Assembly and International conferences.

Carries out plans and decisions of Council.

**Connected or Coordinated Bodies.**

a. Permanent Court of International Justice.

b. International Labor Organization.
Practically independent of League, but with similar structure.
Delegates are appointed by governments, but are to represent three groups: government, employers and employees. They vote as individuals, and decisions are by a two-thirds majority. However, conventions adopted by the I. L. O. are not binding upon governments of member states until accepted by them.
States which are not members of the League may join the I. L. O. (the U. S. belongs to the I. L. O.)

3. Committees and Conferences — showing the scope of the work undertaken:

**Of the League.**

a. "Sections" under the Secretariat:
International Administration Section, Health Section, Disarmament Section, Information Section, Opium Traffic and Social Questions, Communications and Transit Section, Intellectual Cooperation and International Bureaus Section, Legal Section, Mandates Section, Political Section, Minorities Section, Financial Section.

b. Other "Organizations" and "Committees" under the League; Permanent Opium Control Board, Permanent Advisory Commission on Armaments, International Health Organization, Economic and Financial Organization, Communication and Transit Organizations, Statistical Committee, Committees for Refugees, Etc., Etc.

**Of the I. L. O.**
Permanent Agricultural Committee, International Public Works Committee, Committee on Recreation, Committee on Management, Committee on Investment of Social Security Funds, Committee on Social Changes, Committee on Cost of Living and Wage Statistics, Migration Committee, Etc.

4. Purpose.
"In order to promote international cooperation and to achieve international peace and security." (Covenant.)
To carry out some of the provisions of the peace treaty, i.e., mandates, minorities, etc.
Member states agree:

a. To submit disputes between them to "arbitration or judicial settlement or to inquiry by the Council" and in no case to resort to war within three months after the decision.



b. To take economic and perhaps military sanctions against any state which resorts to war contrary to this agreement.

c. To respect and preserve the territorial integrity and independence of member states.

5. Power.

The Council can only "advise" action, each state making its own decision.

Any state may withdraw from the League.

The Covenant is rather vague on the powers of the League, but in any case it has no way of enforcing its decisions.

Unanimity of decision preserves the sovereignty of the states.

" . . . the League of Nations of which the two fundamental principles are precisely the sovereignty of states and their equality of rights." (Briand.)
"But the League of Nations contains the very defect which destroyed the American Confederation of States. It leaves unimpaired the complete national sovereignty of its members." (Lord Lothian.)

## B. Proposals for Reform.

For many years the weaknesses of the League have been talked about; many suggestions for improvement have been made. In general, there have been two points of view: (1) those who believed that the authority of the League should be strengthened and its standard of performance raised, even at the cost of losing members who were lukewarm or non-cooperative; (2) those who believed it so important that all nations be members of the League that they advocated reducing the requirements and performance to a base that all nations would accept. In other words, there was a fundamental difference of opinion as to whether the chance of growth and strength lay in a narrow though devoted membership, or in a wide though rather indifferent one. The question was never settled and the League was not reformed; now it has become so weak that there is a serious question as to its survival at all.

On the other hand, with all the weak spots in the Covenant of the League, it is probably true that none of these was fatal; that adequate provision was made for change within the League, but there was no will for change among the powerful pro-Ally, pro-victor states; that those states were leaders in the League whose interests were served by the League. However perfect the structure may be, without the will to cooperate to preserve peace and justice we shall not succeed.

## 1. The Bruce Report.

The Bruce Committee was appointed by the League to study the matter of dividing the economic and social work of the League more definitely from the political. This Committee, whose report was adopted by the League, recommended the setting up of a Central Committee for Economic and Social Questions. The Central Committee is to have the same sort of autonomy as has the I. L. O. It may have among its members nations not belonging to the League. The Committee is to be composed, at first, of representatives of twenty-four states (whether members of the League or not) and eight economic and social experts regardless of nationality. All questions of an economic or social nature are to be referred to this new body. Decisions shall be made by majority vote of those present.

This reform of the League has already been made, on paper at least. Whatever the fate of the League itself, and whatever the political situation after the war, it is possible that the I. L. O. and the new Central Committee may continue to work toward a world organization to control economic relations. Especially this may be true, if the post-war political organization is on the basis of regions. In that case, the non-political part of the League may be salvaged as a new framework for a world government in the economic sphere.

## 2. Swiss Committee of the International Peace Campaign.

This Committee declared, in 1939, for a new League of Nations, new in spirit and form, based on the following principles:

a. The League must have authority; international law must take the place of absolute sovereignty of states

b. Protection of small states; the policy of neutrality must be repudiated.

c. Justice; liberation of not only such countries as Austria, Poland, Abyssinia, but also of the people themselves.

d. General disarmament, accompanied by a League police force.

e. Re-orientation of economic life and justice in social conditions; the rights of man must be given first place.

f. The peoples — not the governments or their diplomats — must carry out the peace program, both the treaty-making and the subsequent organization.



## 3. British League of Nations Union.

This union is in favor of:

a. Some limitation of national sovereignty. "The supremacy of Law founded on Justice must be accepted as the fundamental principle of international relations." All differences must be settled by "judicial decision, arbitration, or authoritative mediation."

b. Reduction and limitation of armaments. This should be supervised by the international authority, which should also protect a state which has limited its armaments.

c. Means for dealing pacifically with international disputes, whether of a justiciable nature or not.

d. Economic prosperity and social justice, to be furthered by freeing of international commerce, maintaining standards of labor, increasing consumption and bettering distribution of world's resources.

e. Protection of minorities.

## 4. Oscar Newfang's World Federation.

Newfang points out that the basic conditions of permanent peace are (1) political unity and (2) economic freedom. The achievement of permanent peace within nations has come along with their attaining these two conditions. Compare with histories of Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy. The number of states in this world has been constantly reduced, and this reduction has been accompanied by wider areas of peace. In the world today there is international anarchy and international economic chaos. When these are replaced by political unity and economic freedom, peace will follow. The same history as that of individual states will characterize the world as a whole. The League of Nations is in this line of development.

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## Lesson VIII. Pan-Europa. Regional Pacts.

### 1. Briand's "European Federal Union".

In 1929 Briand made a proposal to the Assembly of the League which was later sent as a memorandum from the French Government to member states. Replies were received but no important action was ever undertaken.

The proposal was for "a federation built not upon the idea of unity but of union" to be composed of all the European states which were members of the League. This federation — a development of the Locarno agreements "which initiated the true policy of European cooperation"— was to further the cause of peace by solving special European problems. It must not (a) be in opposition to any other group (b) weaken the League in any way (c) interfere with the "absolute sovereignty and entire independence" of its members. The organization of the union was to include:

a. European Conference (all members of the Union).

b. Permanent Political Committee, an "organ of research and instrument of action" (some selected members of the Union).

c. Secretariat (at first not permanent).

Briand believed that political problems must be settled before the economic, and that it was necessary for European political problems to be solved before the League could succeed. The Union would give European states an opportunity for regular contacts and meetings for discussion of their common problems. After security and political union were secured, questions of economic development, tariffs, etc., could be undertaken.

Under the economic organization of Europe, which was to be effected under the political responsibility of the governments working in unison, were the establishment of a common market to raise the standard of living in Europe, "rational organization of production and of European exchanges, by means of the progressive liberation and simplification of the circulation of goods, capital, and individuals, due account being taken of the requirements of each state as regards national defense."



### 2. Pan-Europa of Coudenhove-Kalergi.

Count Coudenhove-Kalergi founded the **L'Union Pan-Europeene** in 1922, and was its president. He advocated a "Pan-Europe" which would use the United States of America as its economic model and the Pan-American Union as its political model.

Pan-Europe would be achieved in stages, as follows:

a. Assembling of Pan-European Conference, which would

(1) appoint committees on arbitration, guarantees, disarmament, minorities, communications, currency, debts, and culture;

(2) provide for periodical conferences;

(3) establish a Pan-European Bureau as a central organ for the unification movement.

b. Conclusion of the bi-lateral or multi-lateral compulsory arbitration treaties and security pacts.

c. Formation of Pan-European customs union, possibly preceded by customs or monetary unions of smaller groups.

d. Adoption of Constitution of the United States of Europe

(1) House of Representatives with 300 members, each representing one million people.

(2) House of States, each state having one representative.

Coudenhove-Kalergi advocated the development of four other similar supernational continental groups, thus organizing the whole world into (1) Pan-American, (2) Pan-European, (3) British, (4) Russian (which was not to be included in Pan-Europa) and (5) Mongolian regional units.

Briand, who proposed the European Union to the League of Nations, was a member and honorary president of Coudenhove-Kalergi's association.

In October, 1940, this association under the name Pan-European Union, moved its headquarters to New York City.

### 3. Alfred Bingham's United States of Europe.

Bingham would have the world organized into five or six regions: The United States of Europe, the British Empire (England would belong to both of these), the Americas, Asia, the U. S. S. R. (Russia being excluded from U. S. of Europe) and, possibly, the Mediterranean desert countries. Colonies would be either brought to self-government or mandated.

There would be no "democratic bill of rights" as the U. S. of Europe would contain both democratic and dictator countries. But minorities would be guaranteed the right to migrate with their property. There would be cultural and administrative autonomy within the Union.

Structure of United States of Europe: In the legislative branch there would be a **Council of States** (representation according to importance of country, and majority decision), a **Council of Nationalities** (representing cultures, with little legislative power), and an **Assembly** (elected by the people according to population).

There would be an executive elected by the legislature; there would be a judiciary similar to the present World Court, which would eventually form a supreme court for Europe; and there would be administrative organs under the executive controlling the army and navy, commercial aviation, etc.

States would retain their armies temporarily, but disarmament would be achieved as fast as possible under a European Arms Control Commission. States would give up their navies. The Federal Army and Navy would protect the union from an outside power or from a rebellious member.

In the political realm world organization may be postponed in favor of regional organization. But in the economic realm it is necessary at once. The following are advocated:

a. World Investment Commission
including European Reconstruction Commission and World Investment Bank.

b. World Trade Commission (1) Cartels Division, (2) Raw Materials Division, (3) Tariff Division. (Bingham is opposed to a customs union or a free trade area because he believes the trend of the times is toward controlled cartels and monopolies, and it would be useless to struggle against this trend.)

c. I. L. O.

d. Bank for International Settlements.

4. **The "New Republic" (January 8, 1940) advocates:**

a. A European organization (as more feasible than a world organization).

b. Logical sub-units, as, perhaps, a Danubian Federation, a Scandinavian Federation.

c. Some authority given to the Federation over such matters as: enforcement of disarmament, changes in tariffs, changes in the mandates system, enforcement of a bill of rights, currency uniformity, labor standards,



raw materials, migrations, international programs for agriculture, public works, education, news and travel. There should be a police force of the Federation and a court with compulsory jurisdiction in certain matters.

5. **The "United States News" (October 23, 1939):**

Makes a suggestion for a peace conference and an economic federation of European states. The Economic Federation is to be governed by a council of nine representatives chosen according to ability, not nationality. The Federation shall have power to arrange trade agreements for itself and with outside states; it shall consider plans for international loans to facilitate resumption of peace-time life, and financial consortiums for economic development; it shall arrange for repatriation of populations or protection of minorities.

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## Lesson IX. Federation of Nations (The Campaign for World Government).

The Campaign for World Government has been carried on for some years under the leadership of Lola Maverick Lloyd and Rosika Schwimmer. Their ideal is an "all-inclusive, non-military, democratic federation of nations."

1. **Structure.**

**Basis of Membership:** Inclusive. All are invited to join. The preliminary Constitutional Convention, which is to draw up the detailed plan, may begin with delegates from any six countries.

**Preliminary Organization:**

a. Committee of Experts — to devise rules for democratic elections, to be used in all countries in electing delegates to the Constitutional Convention and to the Federation.

b. Constitutional Convention — temporary organization — to draw up Constitution for Federation of Nations.

**Federation of Nations — the permanent organization.**

a. World Parliament. 10 delegates from each state, elected by people.
Delegates shall vote as individuals.
World Parliament elects president, vice-president, executive board.

b. Executive Board: shall reside at the seat of world government and carry on its work.

c. Permanent Secretary.

d. Commissions (see below).

2. Purpose.

**To Maintain World Peace.**

**Principles:**

a. All-inclusive. Only one form of membership.

b. Non-military. No troops. No enforcement of decisions on States.

c. Democratic. Representatives elected by the people. " . . . their (member States) national sovereignty being unlimited except where their interdependence requires federal regulation." Lloyd.

3. Functions **Through Commissions:**

a. To plan work to take care of unemployed.

b. To plan control of production and distribution of raw materials of world.

c. To plan abolition of all tariffs.

d. To control transportation and communication between States.

e. To plan regulation of world finance and uniform monetary system.

f. To prepare code of international law, and plan machinery for its administration.

g. To reorganize diplomatic machinery of interstate intercourse.

h. To plan for arbitration of internal disputes.

i. To solve population problems
(1) by voluntary transfer of populations.
(2) by legislation of birth control.

j. To regulate rights and duties of world citizenship.

k. To plan education of unbiased sort for all children.

l. To plan adequate health service.

m. To prepare legislation to safeguard news and its use.

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**Lesson X. Federal Union (Union Now).**

The basis for this proposal was laid by Clarence Streit in his book, **Union Now.** The Inter-Democracy Federal Unionists is the organization advocating this plan. Their idea is for a union operating in all fields where it can increase the freedom for the individual. They emphasize equality of men rather than equality of states.



1. **Structure.**

**Membership.**

a. All democracies, i.e., those States which guarantee to their citizens the Union's Bill of Rights.

b. Original members — 15 democracies, chiefly North Atlantic, (or part of these, e.g., Great Britain, France and U. S.)

**Framework.**

a. Legislative:

(1) House of Deputies — one representative for every half-million, or one million, population, by popular election.

(2) Senate — two representatives for every country of 25 millions or less population, and two additional for every additional 25 or 50 millions.

b. Executive:

(1) Executive Board — 5 persons (3 by popular vote of all citizens, 1 by House, 1 by Senate). Duties: Appoints premier, names judges, makes treaties, heads army, has some veto power, and can dissolve legislature.

(2) Premier and Cabinet — subject to confidence of both houses.

c. Judiciary:

(1) A Supreme Court.
No interstate questions excluded from its jurisdiction.

2. **Purpose, Functions, Power, etc.**

a. To further democracy. To preserve peace within the area of the democracies to this end.

b. Function in fields in which Union will have authority:
a. citizenship (in addition to state citizenship)
b. defense
c. customs (free trade within Union)
d. money (international currency)
e. postal and communicative system
In fields committed to Union, States give up their own sovereignty.

c. Union has its own forces for enforcing its law and for protecting Union from outside powers. It can raise its troops directly, and can tax its citizens directly.

3. **Present Program.**

Mr. Streit, who was for some years the New York Times correspondent in Geneva, wrote **Union Now** as his solution of the problem presented by the failures of the League of Nations, which he had been studying at first hand. His proposal was made the year before the war broke out, and the fifteen democracies which were the nucleus of his organization were: The United States, Great Britain, France, Finland, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Holland, Belgium, Switzerland, Ireland, Union of South Africa, Australia, New Zealand, and Canada.

As most of these countries have now been conquered by Germany, Mr. Streit proposes that those remaining — really the United States and the British Empire — join in a union, and await the time when the organization can be made more inclusive.

Many feel that, whatever the merits of the original plan, such a union of the United States and the British Empire now would be little more than a military alliance. The question is whether any beginning of a world government could be made while the war is in progress.

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## Lesson XI. A Plan for World Government.

In this lesson there is set forth a plan for world government which takes into account some of the issues discussed in Part II. In parts it is fragmentary, almost omitting the judicial phase, and giving fewer details in the political than in the economic program.

In order to institute this form of world government at the end of the present war, the following preliminary steps might be taken:

1. Scrap the Covenant of the League (and the name, if you wish)—but not the organizations and facilities which have value.
2. Appoint a Committee of Experts I to draw up a new structure of government based on the principles and organization set forth below.
3. Appoint a Committee II to draw up a program of international economic cooperation, based on the principles set forth below.
4. Have a first and second peace conference (see proposal of Harold Nicholson), the first to be restricted to the immediate military settlement, and the second — not really a



peace conference, but a world conference of nations to construct the foundation for a peaceful world — made up of neutrals as well as belligerents. All nations willing to accept the principles laid down in the reports of the Committees of Experts will be members of this conference. The first Committee will determine the method of appointment or election of delegates, but in no case may more than one-third of any nation's delegates be official or/and military representatives. The reports of the Committees of Experts (made public as soon as possible, and long before this conference) will form the basis upon which the details of the government are to be worked out.

The Committees of Experts shall be appointed by the governments of those nations which are now members of the League of Nations, but in no case shall any official of the government or any representative of the military forces of the nation be appointed. Experts and world-minded citizens, in sympathy with the principles and plans set forth below, should be appointed.

### A Reconstituted League of Nations

The following proposal is made for a government which would be a drastic revision of the League of Nations, preceded by a scrapping of the present Covenant. The present equipment, knowledge, committee organization, etc., of the present League would be used as much as possible. But the new structure would be set up without regard in advance to how much that might be.

The organization will definitely be a federation with limitation of the sovereignty of member states. The federation, or League of Nations, will have authority in designated interstate matters. Interstate in this connection does not mean only matters between States (i.e., Governments) but between individuals or organizations when these fall within the fields of international concern handed over to the League of Nations.

The elections, mentioned below, should be free elections with general adult suffrage. Whether the League should enforce the same standards immediately upon all nations is a question of practicality as well as of principle. Should France be barred because she does not permit women to vote? Should the U. S. be barred because Negroes are often prevented from voting?

The League shall have a police force to maintain its authority. This force shall be under the exclusive jurisdiction of the League.

1. **Structure: (two Houses, a Board, the World Court).**

**Congress** — with jurisdiction over economic matters. The members will be elected within States to represent economic groups, the basis of representation being the relative weights of various economic groups in member states. Among such groups are: agriculture, capital goods industries, consumer goods industries, transportation, financial institutions, professions. In each case the representatives will be divided between workers and owners or managers. In addition there will be members elected to represent consumers — or the people — and experts at large.

**Assembly** — with jurisdiction over political matters.

Two-thirds of the members will be elected by the people and one-third appointed by the government, in each case, to represent each member state.

a. Voting in each house will be by individuals. Measures will require a two-thirds vote to pass, unless an exception is made under the Constitution.

b. Each house acts in its appropriate sphere, and its actions are not subject to the approval of the other house, except that a measure may be vetoed by the combined negative votes of the other house (by a two-thirds majority) and the Board (by a majority).

c. The World Court (or a special court set up by it) will decide questions of jurisdiction between the two houses.

d. Each house will have standing committees on various matters, particularly on those mentioned in the sections below. In the case of the Congress, there will be much coordination with the I. L. O.
The work and facilities of the I. L. O. should be used to the fullest extent possible.

**Board.**

a. The Board will consist of five members, named as individuals and not representatives of any particular State or group. Two of these will be elected by the Congress, two by the Assembly, and one by these four.

b. The Board will form a convenient organization through which the League can act, will be the administrative body, but will have little independent power. The police force will be under the direct jurisdiction of the Board but its use will be under the authority of the two houses.



2. **Functions of the Congress.**

**Principles** — to guide actions in economic field:
a. Maintenance of international economic stability.
b. A rising standard of living.

**Program** — to control to whatever extent is agreed upon, and on the principles stated in each case, the following economic matters: (There will be one or more standing committees on each of these, with experts and advisers and research personnel attached to it. These committees will work out a definite plan for the control of the matter in question. This plan may be put into operation gradually.)

a. Raw materials — their availability and exploitation.
Principle of equal availability.
b. International trade:
(1) Barriers
Principle of reduction and freedom.
(2) Markets (Cartels, dumping, etc.)
Principle of equal rights.
c. International finance:
(1) Currency
Principle of a common standard.
(2) International banking, loans, etc.
Principle of international stability and prosperity.
(If possible, use the Bank for International Settlements by expanding its functions.)
d. Labor standards:
(Extend the work of the I. L. O. and add authority where possible.)
Principle of equalization.
e. Social security:
Principle of economic stability and security.
f. Populations and migrations:
(1) Problems of population pressures.
(2) Immigration and emigration policies, (including refugees).
(3) Principle of freedom and equality.
g. Transportation and communication.
Principle of freedom from frictions, equality.

**Extent of Activity.**

a. The Congress will have to decide how far to go, how fast to go; but the direction is determined by the principles, which will have been set down by the Committee of Experts or the Conference organizing the League, and will have been accepted by members.
b. It may be possible to include the cooperation of non-members in many of these fields.
c. It may be advisable to develop regions (based on geography or interest) within the League, which will carry farther than the League as a whole some of this program (e.g., customs unions, monetary unions).

3. Functions of the Assembly.

Principle — to guide action in political field:

International cooperation for the maintenance of peace, based on justice between nations and justice and freedom within nations.

Correlative Principles and Program:

a. A bill of rights for citizens, to be accepted by all member states.
b. A common citizenship under the League.
c. Limitation of sovereignty of member states, as far as is required by the economic and political principles upon which League action is based.
d. Disarmament, to be achieved gradually as confidence and security grow. There should be a standing committee of the Assembly on Disarmament.
e. Control over the amount of production and the transportation of munitions.
f. Provision for protection of *minorities*.
g. Colonies to be mandated to the League.
h. An independent news agency of the League uncensored in all member states.

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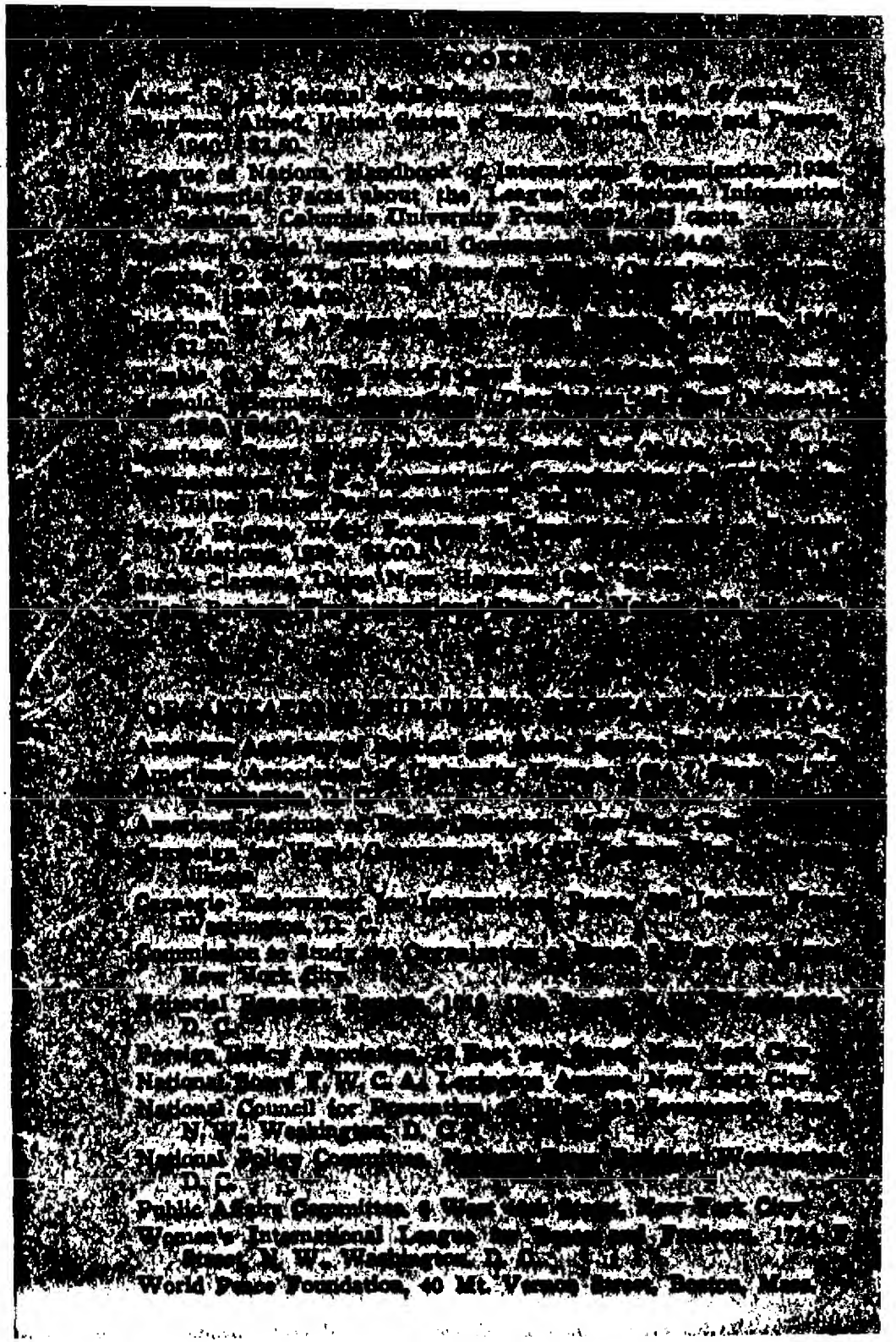
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# 1 THE GENTILE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE 1
# 7 from the 9
# 7 JEW DICTATORSHIP - JEW WAR MONGERS - JEW MONOPOLISTS 4
# 7 and the 4
# 7 JEW "SECRET CONTROLS" in the United States 4
# 6 ★ Gentile Protocols ★ 1

I PLEDGE MYSELF to do all in my power to VOTE OUT and help keep ALL JEWS out of Political Offices and Positions of Authority.

I PLEDGE MYSELF to EXPOSE the JEWS who change their names to conceal their JEWISH RACIAL IDENTITY in order to gain FAVORS and TRUSTS which would not otherwise be granted.

I PLEDGE MYSELF to EXPOSE the fact that COMMUNISM is nothing more than a scheme for JEW CONTROL, originated by JEWS and PROMOTED and INTRODUCED into the United States by JEWS.

I PLEDGE MYSELF to AVOID purchasing foodstuffs or any kind of merchandise manufactured or sold by JEWS as a PRECAUTION against being POISONED or CHEATED.

I PLEDGE MYSELF to KEEP AWAY from JEW Doctors, JEW Dentists, JEW Druggists, or JEWISH-CONTROLLED HOSPITALS or INSTITUTIONS.

I PLEDGE MYSELF to AVOID any JEW Judge, JEW Jury or JEW Lawyer in any litigation wherein GENTILE INTERESTS are involved.

I PLEDGE MYSELF to HELP PROSECUTE and EXPOSE JEW murderers, Thieves and Criminals along with their PAID ASSASSINS.

I PLEDGE MYSELF to EXPOSE and BOYCOTT all those concerns who hire JEW REFUGEES, thereby ROBBING the GENTILE Americans of THEIR JOBS.

I PLEDGE MYSELF to SUPPORT MEASURES to take from the JEWS and INTERNATIONALISTS their CONTROL of OUR MONETARY SYSTEM.

I PLEDGE MYSELF not to be MISLED by propaganda dispensed by the JEW - CONTROLLED press, radio and movies.

I PLEDGE MYSELF to OPPOSE any JEW ACTIVITY in our Churches, Schools, Universities, Clubs, Labor Unions and all other organizations.

I PLEDGE MYSELF not to DIVULGE any SECRET to any J E W which could be used in any way DETRIMENTAL to the welfare of a GENTILE.

I PLEDGE MYSELF to EXPOSE the JEW SLACKERS for the army who AVOID service for any cause, whether by "PHONY" EXAMINATION by a JEW Doctor, graft, fraud, cowardice, or otherwise.

I PLEDGE MYSELF to REPORT to the Proper Officials or some recognized Patriotic Organization ANY JEW who lives in, or entered the United States ILLEGALLY.

I PLEDGE MYSELF to OPPOSE allowing our GENTILE AMERICANS to fight other GENTILES and DIE for some JEW CAUSE, whether HERE or in some FOREIGN COUNTRY.

I PLEDGE MYSELF to OPPOSE and EXPOSE any GENTILE who "FRONTS FOR," "CONNIVES WITH" or who "CARRIES THE BANNER" for a JEW CAUSE detrimental to GENTILES.

I PLEDGE MYSELF to go to the AID and ASSISTANCE of any GENTILE who has been cheated, mistreated or discriminated against by JEWS.

I PLEDGE MYSELF to READ and DISCUSS these "GENTILE PROTOCOLS" with my Friends, Neighbors and Fellow Workers.

I PLEDGE MYSELF to help DISTRIBUTE or REPRODUCE this literature and make distribution — typewritten carbon copies, mimeograph copies, planograph, printed or hand written copies.

WHEN ALL OTHER GENTILES KEEP THESE PLEDGES AS I DO, IT WILL BE THE MEANS OF BRINGING ABOUT AN IMMEDIATE "GENTILE PROSPERITY" IN THE UNITED STATES THAT WILL AMAZE THE MOST SKEPTICAL.

## YES! WE ARE IN THE WAR!

***The Jews Have Waged Some Kind of An Undeclared War Against The Gentile All Over The World For The Past 2,500 Years!***

PLEASE HELP DISTRIBUTE THIS LITERATURE — SEND A QUANTITY TO YOUR FRIENDS -

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★ GET THE JEWS OUT OR THEY WILL GET YOU ★

# WARN MAKERS OF WAR: RELIGION IS ON THE MARCH!

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## Archbishop, Editor Join in Neutrality Crusade.

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BY THE REV. JOHN EVANS.

Religion went "on the march" last night against administration war makers when Archbishop Francis J. L. Beckman of Dubuque and the Rev. Dr. Charles Clayton Morrison of the Disciples denomination, editor of the undenominational Protestant journal, Christian Century, joined in demands against repeal of the neutrality law over the nation-wide Mutual network.



Rev. Dr. Charles Clayton Morrison.

The broadcast, originating from KDTH, Dubuque, where the archbishop was detained in his home by illness, and WGN, Chicago, in combination with yesterday's publication of a Catholic-Protestant demand that congress continue the neutrality legislation in Archbishop Beckman's official archdiocesan journal, the Catholic Witness, marks a new moment in civil and religious history of the country. Both speakers directed their addresses to congress, which had been notified of the broadcast.

### Calling a Halt.

"And let no man cry, 'religion in politics,'" the archbishop challenged. "Moral issues are involved. When corruption, deceit, and communism entrench themselves in government it is time that religion steps in and calls a halt."

The archbishop praised those congressmen who "have fought heroically against power, pressure, patronage, and abuse," and have remained "true to their pledge of peace." He released from blame those congressmen who in the past voted for war measures "because they sincerely believed them peace measures of strict defense."

"These can yet redeem themselves with their people. It is to those faithless politicians who have listened to the voice of Caesar instead of the people that we sound our warning. If you vote to send American ships into war zones you will be voting the deliberate murder of our boys.

"If you dare to repudiate your people you, in turn, will be repudiated. I am satisfied now that religion will furnish that leadership. As a proof of that point you are getting a foretaste of it now. Religion is on the march."

### "Let the People Heal."

Dr. Morrison declared that the most important thing to tell congress on the eve of the vote on repeal of neutrality is "how the people feel about their government."

"They feel," said Dr. Morrison, "that congress no longer represents them, but that it represents the President. This impression is widespread that the President has tied congress to his war chariot so that it no longer listens to the people, but listens only to the President.

"The people see their congress acting the role of Hitler's rubberstamp, which meets when he calls it together to rubber stamp the dictator's decrees. A poignant sense of helplessness has therefore seized the people. His majesty the American citizen has had his proud sense of authority broken. His will is being frustrated. He is no longer the arbiter of the nation's destiny.

### "Not America's War."

"Our people, in their heart of hearts, do not believe that this is their war. Neither their sentiment interest nor any high, unselfish duty dictates that they fight in it. They can serve America best and humanity best by staying out.

"The President knows that this is the deepest conviction of the overwhelming majority of the people. Otherwise congress would be asked to declare war in the constitutional way. The people desire to trust their President. But our leaders have not trusted the people. For two years the people have been deceived. The leaders have exploited the people's trust.

"The American people are being forced by subterfuge, by a cumulative sequence of executive events to take part in a war which they do not believe is America's war.

### Poses Some Questions.

"Why should America pledge her destiny to a cause which cannot be defined? Why should she enter into an alliance with nations whose collaboration cannot be predicted beyond the segment of military victory?

"Up to date, congress has granted all the President's demands. If now it refuses to repeal the neutrality law it will say to the President: Thus far, but no farther! We have already gone as far as our commitments require. We do not propose to go farther along this road.

"Only congress stands between the American people and a war which is not America's war. Congress must not let the people down!"

Box X 6-81

# YOU CAN SAVE OUR BOYS!

(These leaflets are being distributed to the public. Please contact Me and help distribute them everywhere.)

There are almost 200,000 Clergymen in America. **More than enough to stop the war.** Each of them are ordained to obey the commandments of God. The word of God teaches to forgive, enlighten and save—not to hate, darken nor destroy.

The present war is a materialistic one. None of the fighting leaders are fighting for God. All are doing the works of the devil and America, itself, will become destroyed if we allow our boys to be ordered into foreign battles. America **will not be** attacked from without. There is no nation, nor combination of nations, that can invade us. We will be destroyed from within by New Deal despotism and bungling which is sending our defenses and money abroad. With the Lend-Lease Program the New Dealers will make us, taxpayers, bear the burden of the European war unless we do something effective to curb and reverse their plans. Our democracy, under the conditions they have planned for us, cannot survive. The New Deal Dictators already are beginning to undermine our churches by suggesting what our Clergymen should preach.

You workers and parents are the "salt of the earth". There is a way to prevent New Dealers in Washington from sending our boys across the seas to war. Those New Dealers are only a materialistically minded minority, who, with false pre-election promises, have deceived us. Because they are only a minority they can easily be diverted from their plans by our combined American Clergymen, who are a great majority, with a still greater public majority supporting them. If an army of 150,000 American Clergymen and laymen would make a mass pilgrimage to Washington, and there, at mass meetings, summon the President, his cabinet, Senators and Representatives before them, and demand pre-election promises be kept—then our democratic institutions and our boys will be saved.

It is not too late but there is no time to lose. Is not the saving of the lives of millions of our boys worth everything to you?

Following is what you must do: (1) Write to your Priest, Preacher or Rabbi and offer to **help pay his expenses** to make a trip to Washington to attend protesting Clergymen's mass meetings. (2) Get all your friends and have them get their friends to also write to their Priest, Preacher or Rabbi offering to **help pay for his expenses** to make the trip. Every church member and friend can easily afford to help contribute money so the Priest's, Preacher's or Rabbi's expenses will be paid. This will help save the lives of our boys, will greatly reduce taxes and enrich our future. In addition it will save the "democracy and independence" our forefathers gave us.

Neither Britain nor Russia are democracies. Britain is a monarchy and Russia is a dictatorship. How can we expect to win their battles for them over there after they have lost their strength and themselves are too weak to take care of themselves? Perhaps they are doing their **fighting the wrong way** and have enticed our New Dealers into the **same errors.** We must save ourselves from their errors. We must also save the lives of our boys and our democratic way of life here—not elsewhere. Would our future be happy if through our negligence our boys are sunk in the sea or killed in action? No! Then we better make up our minds to do something about it **NOW.**

Last Monday, **Nov.10, 1941,** I mailed enclosed leaflets entitled **"Clergymen To Stop War"** to every Clergymen in Chicago. Every one of them has been informed of the Washington Pilgrimage.

Now I repeat: (1) Write to your Priest, Preacher or Rabbi and offer to **help pay his** expenses to make a trip to Washington to

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attend protesting Clergymen's mass meetings. (2) Get all your friends and have them get their friends to also write to their Priest, Preacher or Rabbi offering to help pay for expense to make the trip.

I am only a poor worker with a family and a $2000 unpaid mortgage on my humble home, but, I have already spent over $250 in postage and printing to help keep America out of war. In addition I have written my friend, the Preacher, and sent him a $20.00 check for his Washington trip. I will personally request of my friends to help contribute toward the Preacher's trip. If they refuse then they are not my friends, nor Christians, and I will have lost nothing by losing their friendship. I will make them read this message. I cannot expect to save the life of my boy nor that of all the others unless I do something about it. So I am doing all I can. If you fail to help—then you are our enemy destroying both yourself and us. Help your Priest, Preacher or Rabbi and he will help us save our independence and the lives of our boys.

Also the Jews should help prevent America's entry into war. They have had a good home here and have enjoyed equal opportunities with the rest of us. What can the rank and file of them gain by America's entry into war. Nothing—but they will lose much if we go to war. America is threatened with a bloody revolution if we become deeply involved—and the Jews will then be persecuted here the same as they were elsewhere. The Jews and Christians are all of the same earth, air and Creator. We should not hate nor kill each other because of material possessions. In the final analysis none of them belong to us because we cannot take anything into the Beyond except the love and friendships we have made on earth. In the Beyond we will not want our enemies to be enemies—so why not make friends of them here. We may not be able to make friends with Hitler (?) but it is not impossible to make friends with the German rank and file if we reason in long term friendships and fair dealings instead of materialistic greedy gain (like the last time). I have met domineering Britishers, Frenchmen, Irishmen, Mexicans, Italians, Jews, and Americans—as well as Germans. But why should we of the rank and file kill and make life miserable for each other because of their short sighted foolishness? All wars are the result of greed and it was the wealthy of Britain, France, Germany and America who re-armed Germany after she was disarmed. The wealthy internationalists are continually playing international financial games with national currencies, national aggressions and the lives of the rank and file.

We, the people of America, demand that the foolishness of war be banished from our life. War will not come to us unless we go out to get into it. Let us send our Priests, Preachers and Rabbis to Washington to demand America's withdrawal from war involvement. (1) They can take the time—(2) they have the education and qualifications—(3) they are a majority over the New Dealers—(4) as denominations they are united—(5) they are the leaders over the New Dealers because they represent the God of Peace, not the error of war—(6) it is their duty to prevent war—(7) they owe it to us because we pay them their salaries—(8) we can pay their expenses to Washington and they can get there before it is too late. If you fail the clergy and the clergy fails us—then **AMERICA AND ALL OF US ARE DOOMED.** Now get busy. Do all I have requested in order to save your own future as well as ours. United we stand and divided, in error, we fall.

**RICHARD EVANS**

**P. O. BOX 5324 CHICAGO, ILLINOIS**

**Nov. 11, 1941**

**Immediately send for more copies of this. Distribute them to friends everywhere. The law prevents me from soliciting money but nevertheless I need it to carry on this work. Thank you.**

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# AMERICA IN DANGER!

CHAS. B. HUDSON, Editor, Lecturer
2304 Fontenelle Blvd. OMAHA, NEBRASKA, U.S.A. Phone WA-0490

Weekly expose of un-Americanism in Education, Finance, Labor, Politics, and Religion. Condensed news for truth-seeking readers. Subscription, $1.00 for 10 weeks includes *"Interlocking Directorate"* Chart that lists some of the leading Radicals, Organizations, and Publications.

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BULLETIN NO. 291 B#58 "MARCH on WASHINGTON to IMPEACH Pres. Roosevelt". Nov. 18, 1941.

AID FOR AID! Appeal in AID! B#289 resulted in number of faithful sending in their remittances - for which I am most thankful. However, there are many who have been getting this bulletin service for some time who have not responded. Some promised to remit - but have not done so. To them I appeal again for their help.

Until supply exhausted: $3. remittance entitles you to free copy of 50¢ book, TNT; $5. for year's subscription entitles you to free copy of 60¢ book, THE OCTOPUS (2 for $1; 7 for $3), the 256-p. book with 2,300 names in index, which put so much fear into NUDEAL and its "control" (Organized Jewry-Intl.Finance), that the P.O.Dept. denied it the book post rate of 1½¢ per lb., forcing me to pay 7¢ to 14¢ parcelpost zone rates, all designed to hinder wide distribution of THE OCTOPUS. (I also sell: EDUCATION FOR DESTRUCTION - $1.50; THE DICTATE-APER - 25¢; and PLANNED ECONOMY with its 3 famous Charts - $1).

THE INDIVIDUALIST (P.O.Box 373, Lincoln, Nebr.- 10 issues $1), No.146, develops generally unconsidered angles on FDR's gift of one billion dollars for Communism (with no repayment until after this war, if ever, and with no interest, whereas Americans not only must pay interest but undoubtedly will be holding the sack for the billion). This bulletin, worth sending your dime for, climaxes with: "A Pacific War In The Making - The combination which includes the repeal of the Neutrality Act, arming our merchant marine, delivering supplies to Russia thru the Japanese zone and deliberately fomenting ill-will between Japan and ourselves, will insure the International New Dealers of the perpetuation of the wartime emergency even tho England and Germany sign an armistice this coming year. It will also please Stalin if we help him to defeat his enemies in Asia; it will please the reds who are looking after his interests in the USA; it will please Churchill if we have to get busy in the Far East leaving more of our trade to English manufacturer and the English merchant marine; it will please Hitler if Russia is forced to open up a another front. In fact, it will please everyone except the overwhelming majority of Ame icans who have been trying to preserve their country, avoid dictatorship and keep out of war."

HISTORY. In debates re repealing Neutrality Act, Repr.Landis (CONGR.RECORD 11-12-41), relying on figures obtained from embassies, War Dept. and Library of Congress, said: ".. Before we condemn our own boys to agony and death, let us examine the record of the killed, wounded, and captured: Britain(2 yrs.) - 134,000; Poland - 1,675,000; France - 2,365,000; Russia (3 mos.) - 2,565,000; Belgium - 230,000; Yugoslavia - 225,000; Holland - 160,000; Greece - 95,000; Norway - 5,000..." B#290 gives British field forces deaths the past 2 years at less than 20,000. Consider, too, that the Institute of London Underwriters 11-11-41 announced a 25% reduction in the war-risk marine insurance rate between British ports east of Southampton and the Americas.

From such official figures it is plain that this "fake" war is not punishing Brita the instigator (and financier, along with USA, of Hitler's war machine from its start). For being Organized Jewry-Intl.Finance's chief tool for imposing military-economic dict torships upon the world (thru war scares and "defense programs"), Britain is being rewarded, not only with such slight death losses, but with increases to its Empire, to it shipping, and its foreign trade. Also, on the Continent, where an awakening to the "con trol's" plan and purposes was taking place, death and destruction of property on a hellish scale materializes largely outside of Germany, exactly as in WorldWarI. I.e., Germany is being saved, as England, from wholesale death and destruction (for property lar ly in hands of Organized Jewry-Intl.Finance), for doing its part in consolidating the Continent under a single dictatorship.

Slaughter now in White Russia conveniently destroys millions of essentially white Christians - those of central and eastern Europe. Thus when the armistice comes, those who might have offered resistance to the imposing of the final phases of slavery-dictat ship by Organized Jewry-Intl.Finance, will have been conveniently liquidated. The same

net result of the over 40 0,000 liquidation by torture, [illegible]rvation and murder the past 24 years in Russia (in order to consolidate Organized Jewry, Intl.Finance's dictatorship in Russia), is being achieved thru the present war (continuation of WorldWarI), in Europe proper. Thus is the Satanic Plot being achieved as envisioned by Rabbi David Cohen of Temple Beth Abraham in the rabbinical magazine EMANU-EL & THE JEWISH JOURNAL of San Francisco, NewYear's issue 9-8-1939: ".. A war in Europe will be of some good if the reactionary elements (Christians) in all countries kill each other off or wear each other out. This is a gruesome hope. But what other alternative is there?..."

I.e., only hope Organized Jewry-Intl.Finance has of completing its Satanic world-wide dictatorship, is to see to it that Christians "in all countries kill each other off or wear each other out". That's why Jewish FDR is illegally sending American boys to their deaths, at same time wearing us out with one emergency after another - 44 emergencies in last 9 years according to 11-12-41 CONGR.RECORD - with resulting debts, taxes, and chaos to come, all serving to clamp said military-economic dictatorship onto USA.

Following item purporting to be UP dispatch 10-3-1938 throws light on Jewishness of the Roosevelts: "The Gerhard Von Koschembahr family, refugees from Germany, planned today to leave for Hyde Park to visit a relative - Mrs.Roosevelt, mother of the Pres... Von Koschembahr's father was a Jew. Mrs. Von Koschembahr resembles the Roosevelts. She said her mother was Cornelia Kernochan Roosevelt, daughter of Charles Yates Roosevelt."

Col.McShane's 5-p. bulletin sums up the above technique and suggests what the near future holds in store for those of us who so far have not been liquidated or intimidated:

".. In many well informed quarters we hear the underlying objective is to 'spend' vast sums of our money and to exhaust American resources, to regiment the people and all their activities to the end - complete Socialization, followed by international dictatorship by International Financiers. With Americans broke and bankrupt, the people and their enterprises destroyed or regimented, what could stop this international gang from foreclosing their mortgage and dispossessing the occupants?

"Defense of America - by 'lend-leasing' and giving to Britain, Russia and China (all in the Red Circle) 85% of our defense materials, billions of our money and more in recources; depleting even our own meager defensive weapons, while COURTING a war in the Far East and in the Atlantic and in Europe and in Africa?

"Defend America by calling great nations and their leaders vile names, accusing them of unprovable offenses against humanity; when these nations are at war to accuse them of 'piracy', of unspeakable crimes when, in self-defense they sink merchant and war ships actually attacking theirs? Such is an unknown 'defense' by Americans, until the reign of Emperor Franklin the First. At the same time building vast 'concentration camps' reportedly for 'aliens'? One just completed at Yaphank, L.I. At the same time erecting great hospital facilities in far away locations - reportedly for 'psychotherapy sanitoriums?

"Anyone, any group, daring to oppose Emperor Franklin's personal policies, or edicts, is called 'unpatriotic', 'unAmerican', 'pro-Hitler', a 'Nazi', 'rattlesnake', 'copperhead', 'obstructionist', etc. Are these 'camps' and 'sanitoriums' for them? History records this procedure, all of it, as main items of Communist-Jew-Socialist 'legal' liquidations of enemy 'aliens'.

"Any of you with eyes to see with and a brain that is functioning can see all of these things around you. (CBH- the Colonel had used about 4 pages to itemize NUDEAL moves uptodate). And many more. How long will you just walk by and not do anything about them? Prompt impeachment of the whole mess is our surest DEFENSE, if it is not the only DEFENSE left for Americans."

Erratum. P.1 of B#290 had typographical error: the Intl.Labor Organization conference of 33 nations at the WhiteHouse, with FDR as speaker, was on 11-6-41, not 7-6-4 Incidentally, the official Communist DAILY WORKER played up that League of Nations ILO conference in big style, and praised FDR's speech, giving it 11-7-41 caption 4-columns-wide on front page: "BOOST PRODUCTION TO CRUSH HITLER, FDR URGES IN ADDRESS TO NATION".

Illustrating further that the NUDEAL program, with FDR as der Fuhrer, is identical with that of Judeo-Communism, a dodger advertising the 24th Anniversary (for which FDR gave $1,000,000,000, and sent cabled felicitations to Moscow) Celebration of the Soviet Union on Sunday (what sacrilege - desecrating Christ's Day!), 11-9-41, at Los Angeles,

(Communist dodger) says i part: ".. Without the uninterru d production of war materials to aid the Soviet Union and Britain, Hitler cannot be defeated. That is why Pres. Roosevelt in his message to Labor declared: 'Every aspect of our national defense hinges on greater industrial production' and 'workers in bondage thruout the world look to you as producers of the weapons of freedom to release them from slavery.' Both the AFofL and the CIO wholeheartedly endorsed such a stand. Hitlerism can be entombed on the eastern front, if you and your fellow workers, together with your neighbors exert every ounce of effort now to SUPPORT THE POLICIES OF PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT FOR FULL CO-OPERATION WITH GREAT BRITAIN AND THE SOVIET UNION. DEFEAT THE AGENTS OF HITLER HERE! -- THE LINDBERGHS, WHEELERS, NYES, AND THE AMERICA FIRST QUISLINGS..."

How sincere the protestations of AFofL and CIO, when not only defense but industry generally being frustrated by millions of lost man-hours, not to mention murders, injuries, sabotage, property damage, etc.? As to sincerity of Sen.Wheeler's opposition to NUDEAL's "foreign policy", AID! some time back held that Wheeler is just another Willkie. Since "domestic" and "foreign"policies of NUDEAL are inseparable, the continued failure of Wheeler to do something with his opportunities and about material placed in his care confirms my stand. E.g., the "open letter" that ex-spy in Communist Party, Edwin P. Banta sent to Central Com. of said CP on 11-5-41 (see B#290), was also sent to Wheeler, and on 11-13-41 he acknowledged thusly: ".. I have your letter of November 5th together with its enclosures. I do not believe I can use this material and am therefore returning it to you..."

Note that this alleged compatriot of Col.Chas.Lindbergh, passes up opportunity after opportunity that would put the NUDEAL on the defensive, verifying the Colonel's claims, at same time creating the offset to the terrific "smear" that is rolling against Lindy from coast to coast. As yet, Sen.Wheeler has not announced the firing of the two male and one female Jewish secretaries (spies) on his staff. Also understand that his son, John Wheeler, is sabotaging the AMERICA FIRST groups around Los Angeles.

The "smear" campaign against Lindbergh (designed to destroy AMERICA FIRST also), as it simultaneously emanates from press, radio, rostrum, etc., proves the very "control" that Lindbergh claims exists. Westbrook Pegler, "FAIR ENOUGH" columnist, who recently built a reputation for fearlessly exposing some labor rackets and racketeers, now prostitutes his "FAIR ENOUGH" 11-15-41 to an unfair attack on Lindbergh. He, who heretofore had been attacking Reds, now gloats about Judeo-Red Russia's successes, and ridicules Lindbergh as having earned "the title of the wrongest man of our time". History will prove Pegler as the "wrongest".

Even the American Flag that Lindbergh had carried on his famous flight to Paris in 1927, which had been the proud possession of NewYorkCity Hotel Lafayette owner, the late Raymond Orteig, has been removed by Orteig's son, from the hotel restaurant lobby. He is quoted: NY WORLD-TELEGRAM 11-15-41, as having had to remove that Flag "to keep peace among his customers after Lindbergh started making political speeches". Note that clever tactic - that Lindbergh's "truth-telling" is merely "political speeches", which reference, significantly, occupies a low estate ever since FDR has proven the Talmudic injunction of telling lies to Gentiles (they're so dumb they wont know lies from truth), and since Willkie testified before Congress that his promises to keep American boys from foreign wars were mere "campaign oratory".

The Judeo-Red NewYork Daily PM 9-22-41, under caption "RUSSIANS TAKE 32 VILLAGES", devotes almost all of front page to a cartoon depicting Uncle Sam as a revolting buzzard in stocks, with a card hanging from his beak "I AM PART JEWISH", and with a placard in front of the stocks reading: "PUBLIK NOTICE: THIS BIRD IS POSSESSED OF AN EVIL DEMON! SHERIFFS: C.A.Lindbergh, Gerald P.Nye". I.e., Lindbergh and Nye are portrayed as bigotted witch-hunters of the early Colonial days, when victims were punished by being clamped in stocks on the Public Square, subject to jibes of passersbye.

Today, it is Lindbergh who is pilloried in the stocks - that cartoonist's Judeo-Red conception twists the facts. Observe that the Judeo-Red THE PROTESTANT DIGEST, magazine which even Jew columnist Geo.E.Sokolsky 11-13-41 bemoans is being promoted by former staff members of leading Jewish weekly in USA, THE AMERICAN HEBREW, and is full of "pro-Jewish-anti-Catholic" propaganda, secured and published the names of 700 Protestant churchmen from all parts of the USA, who "smeared" Lindbergh, accusing him of being an "anti-Semite", "following identically the Hitler technique", and an "anti-Christian".

Glancing over that list of clergy I note a number of those whose resolution and signatures were made much of in the Communist papers, when they supported the Judeo-Red civil war in Spain 1936-39, taking the side of the Loyalists (Judeo-Reds) as against the Christians. It appears when these Gentile clerics continually fall in line at behest of Organized Jewry-Intl.Finance, such false prophets must be spending so much time in extra-clerical activities that they fail to read St.John, who quotes Christ's condemnations of that "control".

These false prophets are guilty of the greatest blasphemy and sacrilege when they sign their names to these lies: ".. Catholic and Protestant alike will tremble to read these words of the Lindbergh they loved (re Lindy's DesMoines speech); for these words strike down not the Jew, but a Jew, Jesus of Nazareth, whom they have been taught to revere. The past decade has written large what we Christians have long known, that anti-Semitism is anti-Christianity.." Christ, the Divine Son of God, was not a Jew. According to Jewish definitions, Christ was the greatest Anti-Semite of all time. And, Lindbergh's speech, by the farthest stretch of imagination, never "struck down" Christ!

You could expect that the Pres. of the Anti-Christ Federal Council of Churches (also Dean of Yale Uni. Divinity School), C.A.Weigle, signed that blasphemy full of lies! It is but part and parcel of the "smear" campaign that leads up to last Sunday night radio broadcast by hate-monger Jew Winchell, wherein he gloats over the oft-demanded investigation of AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE and its leaders, claiming that the Administration and the Dies Com. are now at it. (see proof of Dies Com. treason in AIDI B#290). A climax wherein Jew "key" Congr.Sabath 11-12-41 in speech says its time to start it.

With Rev.Leon Birkhead, Natl.Dir. of FRIENDS OF DEMOCRACY, INC., claiming that less than $10,000 given him by the Motion Picture division of that Judeo-Red "paper" organization, enabled him to get Father Coughlin off the air, and that another $10,000 will enable him to "halt the political career" of Lindbergh, it is interesting to note that Birkhead now comes out with a 27-p. brochure "IS LINDBERGH A NAZI?" This expensively gotten-up "smear" is somewhat along the same lines of the one put out against Henry Ford.

Birkhead boasts that he "halted the political career" of Dr.Gerald B.Winrod (editor of 50¢-a-year monthly magazine THE DEFENDER, Wichita, Kas.), who sought the Republican nomination as candidate for U.S.Senator from Kansas. Actually, Birkhead is nothing but a Gentile "stooge" for Organized Jewry-Intl.Finance, and the measure of such a liar can be gauged when he takes credit, and avers that such small sums did the jobs. Read THE OCTOPUS and you will learn much about the Birkheads, the vast sums used, and tactics.

Foregoing reminds that what the editor of THE PATRIOT (London) 10-9-41 says with reference to a meeting held in London (to put OK on Jewish dictators FDR & Churchill Atlantic Pact - understand Jew head of Bank of England there to, and possibly Stalin as he was reported absent from Moscow), applies with equal force to above false prophets:

".. for the Bolshevik danger to civilisation has existed ever since 1917 without the scientists ever having taken the trouble to draw up a charter recognising that there must be 'liberty to learn, opportunity to teach and power to understand' and so on. In their treatment of the evil thing which is in power in the world today there was not one of these so-called scientists who apparently had the least idea that the disease from which all the nations are suffering arises from the loss of spirituality. They were as physicians who had not only failed to take a proper diagnosis, but were worse infected with the disease than those whom they professed to be able to cure..."

That English magazine under "RELIGION IN RUSSIA" comments: ".. The Russians still practise their religion in secret at their own risk... 'The ideology of Bolshevism is twofold. The slogans of the State must allow freedom of all Creeds, whilst the Communi Party decrees the stamping out of any religion, and as it is the Communist Party which actually rules Russia it brings its theories into force.' ... It has to be noted that M.Maisky (Jew, just as Litvinov, new ambassador to USA is a Jew) has announced that the are over 8,000 churches in the Soviet Union (of 170,000,000 people) but he did not stat to what use they were being put, and SOVIET WAR NEWS, the daily bulletin issued by the Press department of the Soviet Embassy in London, has mentioned that there are 1,011 synagogues, included presumably in these 8,000 churches. Obviously, the religious need of the Jews receive vastly more consideration at the hands of the government than do those of the Russians." Yes, the Jews are the ruling Communist Party in USSR.

We've had our "Founding Fathers" - Christ & Country now needs their "Salvaging Sons

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# World Federation -- Now

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE CAMPAIGN FOR WORLD GOVERNMENT (Organized 1937)
166 W. JACKSON BLVD., CHICAGO, ILL., WABASH 2725
Wm. B. Lloyd Jr., Editor

Vol. III | June 1941 | No. 1

JUL 1 1941

# UNITY FOR AMERICA - AND FOR HUMANITY

## Campaign by Plane Pushes Move for a Neutral Peace

The Campaign for World Government took to the air in May with a "barnstorming" tour of several Wisconsin cities in a plane piloted by American Director William B. Lloyd, Jr. With his sister Georgia Lloyd, he later flew to Washington to present the idea of a neutral negotiated peace and a United States of the World to the Memorial Day week-end meeting of the Keep America Out of War Congress.

Copies of the petition enclosed with this bulletin were circulated, local supporters seen or telephoned, and stories given to the newspapers. Many pilots and airport officials were glad to support a constructive peace move. Two senior pilots of one of the major airlines were particularly enthusiastic.

An extended air tour of the West, starting not later than July 7, is being planned. The plane, a two-place, cabin ship, was purchased especially for use in an emergency campaign to arouse America to the need for a non-belligerent peace move.

**Represented at American Academy**

The Campaign has been continuously active in conferences, public hearings, legislative work, etc., during the unfortunately long period since the last bulletin was sent to supporters.

Former Congressman John G. Alexander of Minneapolis, author of the Alexander "Prepare for Peace" bill of the last session, was listed as a delegate of the Campaign to the session of the American Academy of Political and Social Science in Philadelphia this spring. Edith Wynner, New York Campaign secretary, attended and took an active part. Her questions to Freda Utley of England brought out remarks on a possible peace move which were quoted throughout the country.

Miss Wynner, Miss Lloyd, Mr. Lloyd and Mrs. Lola Maverick Lloyd, Campaign chairman, spent many weeks during the winter in legislative work in Washington, holding personal conferences with members of the Senate and particularly non-interventionists.

The message of a neutral negotiated peace and a United States of the World was carried to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee February 8 by Mr. Lloyd.

Leaders of 40 national organizations in the peace and international field heard the program of the Campaign as presented by Mr. Lloyd, March 17, to the Conference on World Organization of the National Peace Conference in New York City. A good resume of this talk and others of the Conference is available for 20 cents from the National Peace Conference, 8 W. 40th St., New York, N. Y.

Mrs. Mabel S. Ring of Seattle and Mrs. Catherine Rumball of Santa Barbara, Cal., have been pushing the Campaign

(Continued on page 3)

When armed men get to fighting in the hold of a ship and the ship is loaded with nitroglycerin, the passengers don't choose up sides and join battle. Of course not. They combine and use their best "non-belligerent" efforts to stop the row. In the same way when war is spreading and obliterating civilization, before all is lost the nations that are not at war ought to have sense enough to band together in order to stop the slaughter and put a little law and order into international affairs.

Whether we American citizens descend from the many European nationalities or from Asians or from Africans, we have the same rights and duties and we have attained a spiritual unity that only foreign war can shatter. War, it is true, compels external unity, but it must leave our mixed population bitterly torn. While our country has been a haven for the oppressed from the old world and a beacon of liberty to those not yet free, it has not developed clear thinking or unity in international affairs. Just now our leaders are rallying the Latin-Americas to promote the worthy end of mutual trust and security. But it is hardly realistic to expect this valuable sense of unity to be strengthened by a campaign to drag all the Americas with us into war. War won't do the trick—we need a better foreign policy than that.

**Opposed to Appeasement**

While the Western Hemisphere is the economic rival of the Eastern, neither the Latin-Americas nor the U. S. A. can afford to let Europe destroy itself, and moreover our own safety compels us to try to end the war. A just peace is the one and only policy that can now unite public opinion in both American continents. All of us reject an appeasement peace and a dictated military peace, whether dictated by Churchill or Hitler—even one dictated by ourselves. But when the problems are so complicated, how can we advance toward a truly just peace?

Modern methods without limit are being used to get America re-armed, "all dressed up and no place to go"—except to war! But we have not scientifically studied the problem of turning our lucky temporary peace into lasting peace. Modern methods and money have not yet been used on a real peace offensive safe from degeneration into the appeasement or the dictated variety of peace. It is never too late to begin. At last we have a measure before the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives which advocates just such modern methods.

The Bill (House Joint Resolution 181) was introduced March 8 by Dr. Rudolph G. Tenerowicz of Michigan. It would have us start realistically from where we are—in the status of a near-belligerent. Because President Roosevelt has repudiated all hope of peace, HJR 181 does not ask him to act. It sets up instead a JOINT CONGRESSIONAL PEACE COMMISSION with an appropriation of fifty millions. Perhaps the President cannot take the first step toward peace now, nor the head of any other non-warring nation

Certainly neither belligerent will suggest peace until already defeated or completely victorious. But our bankrupt world cannot afford wholesale destruction much longer. Action by a third party is deseperately needed. Congress, in close touch with the people and less inclined to war than the present Executive, is the proper democratic agent to originate it. Only a bold act such as the T bill can restore to Congress some control of national and international affairs and bring it out of its present eclipse.

**Dr. Tenerowicz, author of H. J. R. 131, is a surgeon, a war veteran and a member of the American Legion since its inception. He is a Democrat.**

HJR 131 proposes that the Congressional Peace Commission invite the legislatures of all the non-belligerents to join in a demand for an immediate end of hostilities, and in an offer of a new organization for World Union,—this demand and offer to be publicly expressed to the belligerents through a Joint Neutral Peace Board. Our peacetime participation in the Interparliamentary Union establishes the precedent for Congress to deal formally with parliaments of other countries. All the more necessary in humanity's desperate crisis that Congress take the lead now in effective steps toward peace.

Even though legislative bodies in certain countries are rubber stamps, wherever the radio is heard the impact of an appeal from the Congressional Commission will raise the prestige of the organs of popular government and give democracy new life. The American invitation will go by cable and radio to legislative bodies and by short wave directly to the people of non-belligerents and belligerents. Of course, listening to the radio is forbidden in many countries, but we also had our Prohibition law. And news, passed in a whisper behind the hand to eager listeners, is 100 times easier to smuggle than a bottle.

When Congress takes the lead and world public opinion gets itself organized for peace, no government can persist in war-mongering. The regular agents of government: kings, presidents, senates, and so forth, will then complete the necessary measures of binding legality to secure world peace. What's lacking now is the initiative. American citizens are the only ones to take it.

### No Justice Without Impartial Body

Third party action for peace will be more realistic, more representative of world public opinion, and much more acceptable to the belligerents if it is a joint effort. Neither the German people nor the British can trust mediation by openly partisan non-belligerents, but they must listen to a peace offer from a balanced group. And when their people listen even dictators must grow reasonable.

This non-belligerent peace plan offers what neither belligerent has yet promised: that all countries shall be represented at the peace table, including those countries occupied for long or short periods by foreign military forces. Nor will the joint neutral message be confined to a plea for a stop to the war with an offer to negotiate its temporary terms. It will also provide for a call to a World Convention. No permanent recognition of military conquest will be conferred by the armistice, final territorial questions being referred to the World Convention,—or if necessary to the permanent body constituted by it. Finally, the Convention will prolong the truce indefinitely by drafting a constitution for the permanent United States of the World.

All this is outlined in the Tenerowicz Peace Bill, which contains a program of five points to be worked out by the proposed Joint Neutral Peace Board with, of course, sufficient expert aid:

1. **The establishment of temporary demarcation lines between belligerents.**
2. **The orderly and scientific planning of the relief of straving populations.**
3. **The demobilization of millions of soldiers—shifting them into reconstruction work.**
4. **The reopening of channels of international communications, trade and distribution, and**
5. **The calling and preparation of a World Convention which will set up the framework under which these and correlated world-wide tasks can be carried out effectively.**

Our bottleneck is the press and, to a lesser degree, the radio. These so-called organs of publicity are the real "opium of the people," keeping up eternally the false and fatal impression that war is inevitable. They hide or defame all decent moves toward peace abroad and at home. Only when a startling new peace move like the Tenerowicz Bill gets a little of the publicity it deserves can we believe again in the "freedom of the press." Supporters of a Neutral Negotiated Peace have to break into the hostile press somehow and draw public attention forcibly to the neglected third choice before us, namely, **Intervention for Peace**—our choice being positively not confined to: "Get into the War" or "Stay Out." We can also choose to "Stop the War,"and H. J. R. 131 is the best available means to that end.

Most of the isolationists who bravely re-iterate "Stay Out" have lacked a foreign policy. But how much longer can we hope to keep out of constantly developing war without a positive program of peace action? Among the real isolationists a few may now be ready to support peace action by Congress. Let their front-page leaders once advocate in public a neutrally negotiated peace and a practical world union and the newspaper silence will be punctured. Then at last we shall have discussion of a real solution. For some men still possess the magic power to "crash the press." Let them support H. J. R. 131 and we're off to a good start. Write to them! Call them up! See them on this point!

### Congressmen Will Listen

Also put pressure on your own Congressman and Senators and especially on the Hon. Sol Bloom, chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, for a public hearing on the Tenerowicz Bill. He does not call his committee into session any more, it is said, unless he gets orders from the White House. Let's be democratic and give him the orders of American voters.

If the Foreign Affairs Committee remains unresponsive, a petition in the House of Representatives can discharge the Committee from further consideration of the Tenerowicz Bill and bring it to the floor. Remember we still have a Congress and it is still legal to discuss peace there. Write to your own Representative and ask him to sign the discharge petition. Let's put the machinery of democracy into use and organize as quickly as we can mankind's universal but inarticulate abhorrence of war.

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### ADDITIONAL SPONSORS LISTED

**Miss Sarah Cleghorn of Arlington, Vt., Mrs. Jessie Overholt of Wooster, O., and Mrs. Esther Fiske Hammond of Santa Barbara, Cal., have recently become sponsors of the Campaign for World Government.**

# Congress Eyes Five Bills on Topics Pioneered by C. W. G.

The leadership launched by your Campaign in 1938 with the introduction of a *memorial* to the New York State Constitutional Convention, urging the calling of a world constitutional convention, is bearing more fruit with every month that passes.

Supporters will recall that with the outbreak of war we campaigned for joint neutral mediation, and that in the 76th Congress we were the spearhead of support for Hon. John G. Alexander's "Prepare for Peace" resolution with an appropriation of *$50,000,000*.

Now there are five resolutions pending in Congress which deal with objectives of our Campaign, and another has been passed by a state legislature. They are: the Wagner-Voorhis Resolution (S. J. Res. 16 and H. J. Res. 76) which would prepare for peace by setting up a Post-Emergency Advisory Commission; the Kennedy Resolution (H. J. Res. 64), which would establish a Peace Committee in the House; the Voorhis Resolution (*H. J. Res. 188*), *for calling* a parliamentary conference on peace in September; and the Ludlow peace resolution (H. C. Res. 20), urging the nations of the Western Hemisphere jointly to offer mediation.

**Congressmen Urge U. S. Peace Move**

Congressman Karl E. Mundt, Republican member of the *Foreign Affairs Committee* from South Dakota, has just come out strongly in two recent radio talks for joint mediation by non-belligerent nations, and *Congressman John Vorys*, of Ohio, member of the same party and committee, has declared for a peace move by the United States.

The Legislature of *North Carolina* has passed, with the backing of the Governor and President F. P. Graham of the State University, a stirring resolution (No. 24, H. R. 338), declaring *for* world federation. Robert Lee Humber is the leading spirit in this campaign. The drawback of this resolution is that it bases the world federation *on* a dictated peace.

A better resolution has been introduced in the Connecticut legislature through the *efforts of* Frederick C. Smedley, attorney, leader in the Connecticut Peace Council and enthusiastic supporter of our Campaign.

The Campaign *for* World Government throws complete and wholehearted support to H. J. R. 131 rather than any other bills in Congress because it links immediate peace action with the development of world organization.

Where we have willing support in state legislatures resolutions can be introduced *supporting* world federation by direct memorials urging Congress to pass the Tenerowicz Peace Bill.

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**EXCERPTS FROM CALL BY FRIENDS**

Issued for the American Friends Service Committee by its Board of Directors: *Rufus M. Jones*, chairman; Clarence E. Pickett, executive secretary.

The proposal of an immeditate cessation of hostilities in order to permit consideration of some such process as this is very different from proposing an armistice because of weariness of war or fear of war's consequences. It introduces a new element into the situation. It raises a standard to which men and women of high principles in all nations can repair. It opens a way to escape the logical absurdity of war against dictatorship, which must be carried on by dictators and so establish the very principles against which it fights. The remedy for aggressive war is not war, but dynamic peace.

Is there no one in any government at the moment sufficiently detached and above the issues of strife to call for cessation and mediation? If not, then we at least should cry aloud to those who are still sensitive to the spiritual currents of life and who see steadily the fundamental claims of humanity to discover some way in the wisdom of God to stop this tide of destruction.

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# Endorsements for HJR 131

Delegates to the Keep America Out of War Congress, representing five of the oldest peace organizations in the country, endorsed H. J. R. 131, on June 1, 1941, in Washington, D. C. The *Congress* was urged to send a copy of the bill to each member, "and work out other plans for promoting its passage."

In May the Annual Meeting of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom endorsed this measure on behalf of the entire national organization, and W. I. L. branches in many cities have passed local endorsements. The United Pacifist Committee of New York City, approved the bill by an overwhelming vite.

The Eastern and Mid-Western sections of the Fellowship of Reconciliation also registered approval backed up with active support. The American Friends' Service Committee has sent out thousands of copies of the resolution.

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**FOR A BIGGER CAMPAIGN**

Contributions by friends of the Campaign have kept our office in operation continuously since *November* 1939, but our financial support has never been sufficient to present our cause to the public adequately. Recently many organizations have come around to the point of view favoring either a non-belligerent peace move or the idea of a United States of the World. We advocate both. War is very likely to cost you your fortune, whatever it is. Why not give a fraction of it now for waging peace? What better place to put your money can find you than a *frontier outpost of* the peace movement, in an organization that has led the way ever since it was launched?

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**NOTES ON CAMPAIGNERS**

Our international co-chairman and real founder, Mme. Rosika Schwimmer, is living in the Adirondacks this summer and has temporarily ceased to be active in the Campaign.

Lola Maverick Lloyd, international chairman, returned in April from the south, where she addressed audiences in San Antonio and Austin. Later she made a trip to Washington and New York.

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**RETURN OF PAMPHLETS REQUESTED**

UNION NOW for Peace or War? the penetrating analysis of the plan proposed by Clarence Streit, written by Mme. Rosika Schwimmer, our international co-chairman, is now out of print. If you have a copy which you are no longer using or do not need, please send it to her at 105 West 73rd Street, New York, N. Y. 10c will be paid.

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**CAMPAIGN BY PLANE—**

(Continued from page 1)

on the West Coast. Mrs. Ring has taken the lead in organizing a regular discussion group on World Federation, and Mrs. Rumball has won whole-hearted support for H. J. R. 131 by the local Women's International League.

In New York Miss Tracy Mygatt, in Springfield, Mass., Mrs. Elaine G. Eastman, and in Washington, Edwin S. Potter, have rendered invaluable service.

# English and Irish Women Favor Mediation of War

In England peace meetings can still be held, though our newspapers make light of such sentiment but indirectly admit the existence of a minority favoring peace in the Labor Party.

Important talks from the Peace Aims Conference, held in Oxford last January, are obtainable in pamphlet form.

On March 22 the Women's Section of the Peace Pledge Union held a Conference of about 1,000 on peace possibilities in Friends' House, London. Sybil Morrison summoned it, notifying many Americans beforehand. Visas, however, are not given us for peace conferences. Our co-chairmen cabled adhesion and encouragement to Miss Morrison and their message was read to the conference, which agreed on the desirability of a joint deputation of women to the American republics in search of a mediator. All this is reported in the invaluable weekly "Peace News." (3 Blackstock Rd., London, N. 4.)

Women of the Irish Labor Movement early in the year sent Mr. DeValera a letter urging steps toward mediation. They asked him to draft his own peace program and present it to all the governments, neutral as well as belligerent.

If Americans took the lead surely Ireland would cooperate.

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### NEWS OF TENEROWICZ BILL GETS THROUGH TO FOREIGN LANDS

In spite of censorship, news of the introduction of HJR 131 has been gratefully and enthusiastically acknowledged by many individuals, peace organizations, and editors abroad. Australia, Sweden, Netherlands, Hungary, England, and others, responded. The Swedish section of the Women's International League has endorsed the program for a democratic, non-military, universal federation of nations, following cessation of hostilities.

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# British Lord Holds Peace Move More Important Than War Aims Statement

"I am still doubtful about urging the present government to state its peace terms. I am inclined to think that in their present mood they will be more desirous of adding fuel to the flames rather than calling out the fire engines. Bombs are more in favour at the moment than the hose. I think they had better be silent." * * *

"Let me say finally that, in spite of gloomy prognostications about a four or five years' war, I am not without hope that a representative of a powerful non-belligerent nation may not come forward with an endeavour in the conflict between the two undefeated belligerents to cry a halt to the policy of what Maxton called 'Nothing but slaughter, nothing but killing,' and suggest an approach to the council table. A conference has to be called sooner or later. Let any reasonable man ask himself whether the result would not be better for the world now than in four years' time."

Lord Ponsonby in "Autarchy, Internationalism and Common Sense," War Resisters' International, Middlesex, England, 1941.

* * *

If you want a long war with social chaos at its end, do nothing but arm; if you stand for orderly, civilized progress, support neutral conference now.

# ONE HUNDRED LEADERS CALL FOR ACTION ON H. J. R. 131

We the undersigned, favor immediate hearings and passage of HJR 181 because:

—It would authorize the appropriation of fifty million dollars—a tiny fraction of our war preparations—to prepare for peace.

—It would offer to the people of all belligerent countries a positive program for cessation of hostilities. The people of belligerent Europe now have virtually but two choices: to strain every nerve to make their own nation's war program of destruction as efficient as possible; or to aid the enemy through blind opposition. By enacting this resolution America will hearten the opposition to dictatorial rule everywhere by giving it a program to be for.

This resolution would recognize our position of world-wide leadership and would have us use this position in the light of constructive world statesmanship rather than in the darkness of old world diplomacy.

Ackerly, Rev. Geo. A.
Templeton, Mass.
Alexander, Hon. J. G.
Minneapolis, Minn.
Armstrong, Mrs. E. B.
Scarborough, N. Y.
Atkins, Rev. E. M.
Flint, Mich.
Aydelotte, Mrs. M. E.
Dixon, Ill.
Aydelotte, Walter F.
Dixon, Ill.
Babcock, Caroline L.
Washington, D. C.
Baber, Zonia
Chicago, Ill.
Baker, Adelaide N.
Westport, Conn.
Baker, Earle A.
New York, N. Y.
Barnes, Dr. Harry E.
Cooperstown, N. Y.
Barr, Rev. Norman B.
Chicago, Ill.
Bell, Edward Price
Gulfport, Miss.
Blount, Ralph E.
Oak Park, Ill.
Boehm, Albert C.
Chicago, Ill.
Bollinger, H. D.
Nashville, Tenn.
Boss, Dr. Chas. F., Jr.
Chicago, Ill.
Boyer, Prof. E. E.
Decatur, Ill.
Carner, Lucy P.
Chicago, Ill.
Carpenter, Marion J.
Rockaway, N. J.
Chamney, Mary
Santa Barbara, Cal.
Cheney, Fanny
Santa Barbara, Cal.
Chubb, Rev. James S.
Baldwin, Kansas
Clary, George, Jr.
Emory University, Ga.
Clausen, Rev. Bern. C.
Pittsburgh, Pa.
Coffin, J. Herschel
Whittier, Cal.
Collins, Rev. G. L.
Madison, Wis.
Conover, Rev. E. M.
New York, N. Y.
Curran, Mae P.
Santa Barbara, Cal.
Eastman, Elaine G.
Northampton, Mass.
Ellwood, Prof. C. A.
Durham, N. C.
Felsenthal, Julia I.
Chicago, Ill.
Fry, Elizabeth D.
Grady, Rev. Robert C.
Cleveland, Ohio.
Gray, Mrs. Annie E.
Summit Co., Colo.
Gregg, Richard B.
South Natick, Mass.
Hamlin, C. H.
Wilson, N. C.
Hammond, Esther F.
Santa Barbara, Cal.
Hancox, Herbert F.
Chicago, Ill.
Harkness, Dr. Georgia
Evanston, Ill.
Harrington, Rev. A. E.
Long Beach, Cal.
Harris, Paul, Jr.
Washington, D. C.
Hartman, Prof. Geo. W.
New York, N. Y.
Hatt, Prof. John H.
Granville Center, Mass.
Heinzler, Henriette M.
Pasadena, Cal.
Howell, Clarence V.
New York, N. Y.
Howell, Ida Ostley
New York, N. Y.
Jackson, Margaret
Santa Barbara, Cal.
Kalven, Janet
Chicago, Ill.
Kaufman, Abraham
Brooklyn, N. Y.
Lloyd, Lola M.
Winnetka, Ill.
Lyford, Philip
Westport, Conn.
Macbeth, Hugh E.
Los Angeles, Cal.
Mayer, Milton S.
Chicago, Ill.
Moore, Rev. Arthur N.
Houlton, Me.
Munson, Aileen
Chicago, Ill.
Munson, Paul L.
Chicago, Ill.
Nash, Vernon
Armonk, N. Y.
Newell, Rev. J. Pierce
Superior, Wis.
Nichols, John R.
Pocatello, Idaho
Noland, Dr. C. A.
Long Beach, Cal.
Noyes, Adelaide N.
Gittings, Md.
Nye, Helena M.
Palo Alto, Cal.
Olmsted, Frank
New York, N. Y.
Palmer, Dr. Albert W.
Chicago, Ill.
Paschel, Emma
Glendale, Cal.
Ray, Ann
Santa Barbara, Cal.
Ring, Mabel S.
Seattle, Wash.
Rumbell, Catherine
Santa Barbara, Cal.
Russell, Perf. Elbert
Durham, N. C.
Scholz, Prof. Karl
Philadelphia, Pa.
Scott, Lucille R.
New York, N. Y.
Senior, Clarence
Kansas City, Mo.
Shelden, James Gail
Palo Alto, Cal.
Siebel, Ella J.
New York, N. Y.
Sight, Carolyn A.
New York, N. Y.
Smith, Anna C.
Santa Barbara, Cal.
Stagner, Ross
Hanover, N. H.
Steinberger, Doris H.
Berea, Ky.
Stardevant, Arthur A.
Minneapolis, Minn.
Thomas, Norman
New York, N. Y.
(Qualified)
Toness, Erling
Corpus Christi, Tex.
Toness, Mrs. Erling
Corpus Christi, Tex.
Turner, Rev. Robert S.
Chicago, Ill.
Tuttle, Prof. Harold S.
New York, N. Y.
Tyler, Rev. William A.
Orden, Utah
Urban, Rev. Leigh R.
Springfield, Mass.
Frary, William
Boston, Mass.
Wagenknecht, Prof. E.
Seattle, Wash.
Waltmire, Rev. W. B.
Omaha, Neb.
Washburne, Carleton
Winnetka, Ill.
Weller, Charles F.
Boston, Mass.
Wheeler, Anne K.
Evanston, Ill.
Whitacre, J. H.
Chicago, Ill.
Will, Herman, Jr.
Chicago, Ill.
Williams, Dr. Mary W.
Palo Alto, Cal.
Williams, Mrs. R. J.
Austin, Tex.
Woods, Amy
Brookline, Mass.
Woody, Thomas
Philadelphia, Pa.
Wotherspoon, Marion F.
Altadena, Cal.

Jour 6-68

# "I HATE WAR"

#215238

Franklin Delano Roosevelt said
at Chautauqua, N. Y., August 14, 1936

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of the American People

## HATE WAR

## Principles
of
## The America First Committee

1. Our first duty is to keep America out of foreign wars. Our entry would only destroy democracy, not save it. "The path to war is a false path to freedom."
2. Not by acts of war abroad but by preserving and extending democracy at home can we aid democracy and freedom in other lands.
3. In 1917 we sent our American ships into the war zone and this led us to war. In 1941 we must keep our naval convoys and merchant vessels on this side of the Atlantic.
4. We must build a defense, for our own shores, so strong that no foreign power or combination of powers can invade our country, by sea, air or land.
5. Humanitarian aid is the duty of a strong, free country at peace. With proper safeguard for the distribution of supplies, we should feed and clothe the suffering and needy people of the democracies of Europe.

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
141 WEST JACKSON BOULEVARD
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

Please enroll me as a member of
THE AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

I am a patriotic American citizen, I am not affiliated in any way with any foreign power. I believe in the principles of the America First Committee:

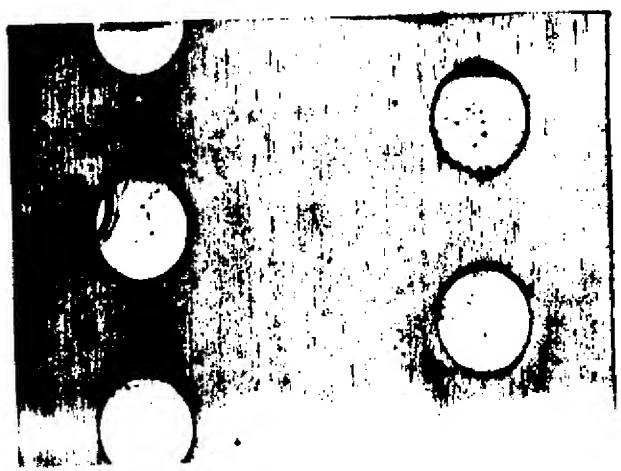
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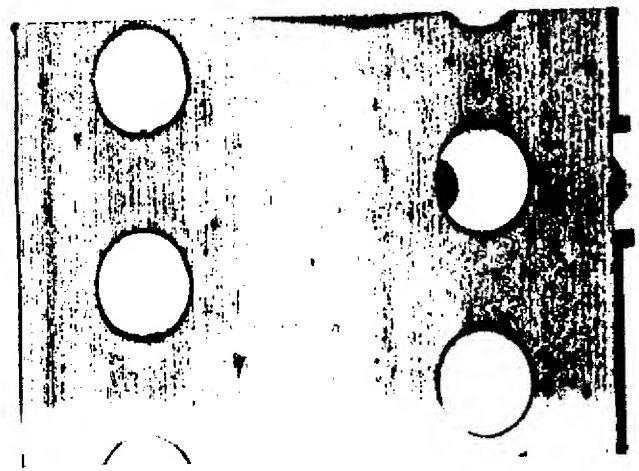
Address.....City.....

I enclose $.....to be used in furthering the cause for which the America First Committee is fighting.

(The America First Committee is supported entirely by voluntary contributions of time and money, but you need not contribute to become a member.)

Send or bring this card to
AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE, 141 West Jackson Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois





# THESE ARE THE SOLEMN AND SACRED PLEDGES

Made by

THE PRESIDENT DURING THE 1940 ELECTION CAMPAIGN

**We Will Not Participate Nor Intervene In Foreign Wars.**

"We are arming ourselves not for any purpose of conflict or *intervention in foreign disputes.* I repeat again that I stand on the platform of our party; we will not participate in foreign wars and will *not* send our *Army, Naval* or *Air Forces* to fight in foreign lands outside of the Americas except in case of attack."

"It is for peace that I have labored; and it is for peace that I shall labor all the days of my life."

Philadelphia, Oct. 23, 1940.

**The First Purpose of Our Foreign Policy Is to Keep Out of War.**

"We look at the old world of Europe today. It is an ugly world, poisoned by hatred, and greed and fear. We can see what has been the inevitable consequence of that poison—it has been war.

"And we look at this country, built by generations of peaceable, friendly men and women who had in their hearts faith—faith that the good life can be obtained by those who work for it.

"We know that we are determined to defend our country and with our neighbors to defend this hemisphere. We are strong in our defense.

*"The first purpose of our foreign policy is to keep our country out of war."*

**Your Boys Are Not Going to Be Sent Into Any Foreign Wars.**

"And while I am talking to you, *fathers* and *mothers,* I give you one more assurance. *I have said this before,* but I shall say it *again,* and *again,* and *again, your boys are not going to be sent into any foreign wars.*

"They are going into training to form a force so strong that, by its very existence, it will keep the threat of war far away from our shores. Yes, the purpose of our defense is defense."

Boston, Oct. 30, 1940.

**Ships Flying the American Flag Must Stay Out of the War Zones.**

"In 1935 in the face of growing dangers throughout the world, your government undertook to eliminate the hazards which in the past had led to war. *We made it clear that ships flying the American flag could not carry munitions to a belligerent; and that they must stay out of war zones."*

New York City, Oct. 28, 1940.

**I Am Fighting to Keep Out of Foreign Wars.**

"I am fighting to keep this nation prosperous and at peace. I am fighting to keep our people out of foreign wars and to keep foreign conceptions of government out of our own United States."

Brooklyn, Nov. 1, 1940.

**The**

**AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE**

**Leads the Fight to Keep the United States Out of War**

●

**HELP US SAVE THE NATION**

**from**

**THE HORRORS OF WAR**

●

**DEMAND FAITHFUL FULFILLMENT**

**of the President's**

**SOLEMN and SACRED PROMISES**

●

**Write — Wire — Telephone**

**President Roosevelt**

**Your Senators**

**Your Congressmen**

●

**JOIN WITH US NOW**

**and**

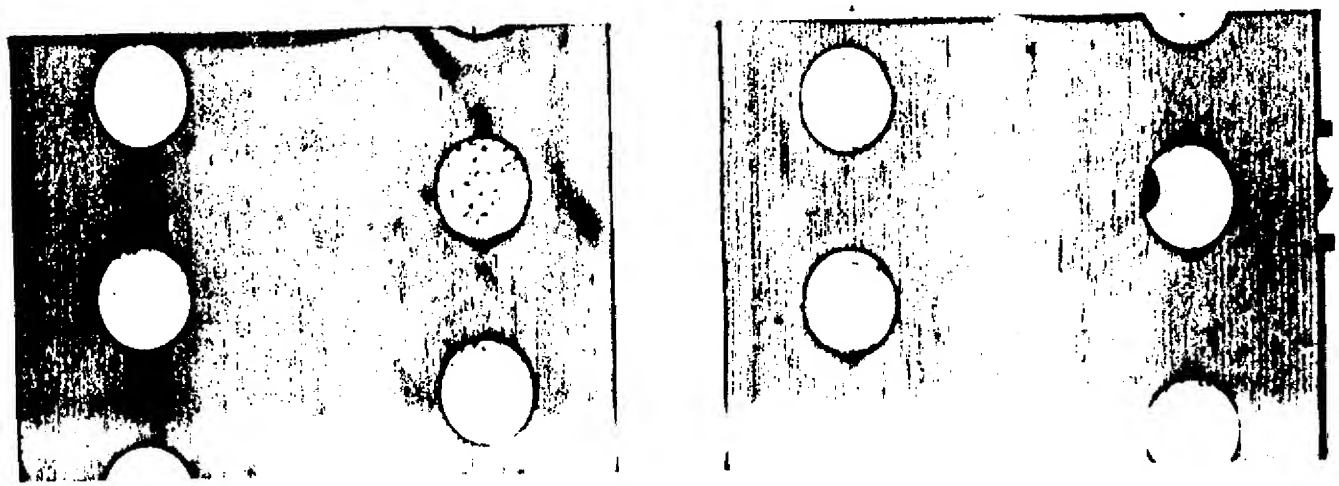
**ENROLL YOUR NEIGHBORS**

**in the**

**AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE**

**141 West Jackson Boulevard**

**Chicago, Illinois**



Mrs. H. C. Olson, President

Mrs. D. H. O'Toole, Secretary

HE. 2478

GPO f 5-194

# Parents of America

2176 Carroll Avenue

St. Paul, Minn.

318,519
SP8 BTS/CoL
10-18-90

#24523B

September 23, 1941

4/29/85 SP8 BTS/DS

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United States Senators
Representatives in the Congress
National Capitol
Washington, D. C.

PETITION

264.850 9145 JTS/MC/CoL 4-23-91 Cat#242,942

Honored Sirs:-

We, the Parents of America, individually and collectively, PETITION the Congress of the United States to carry into effect Its Sacred Pledge to preserve the Constitution. This means that even extreme war measures must be directed toward saving the Constitution.

We have witnessed the Congress silently accepting rebuff, mandate, discredit and the usurpation of Its Sole Authority. We have witnessed a minion of the Administration defy the authority of the United States Senate.

We have witnessed the repudiation of solemn pledges.

We have witnessed the Constitution ignored, Laws no longer faithfully executed, and Despotic powers assumed:

1.-Bombers to France
2.-Destroyers to Briton
3.-Occupation of Iceland
4.-A clandestine meeting on the Atlantic
5.-An unauthorized declaration of War
6.-Convoys-violating Neutrality Law, and
7.-Delivery of munitions - violating Lease-Lend Act.

We are witnessing a program of propaganda designed to encourage involving this Nation in a Foreign war. The program is predicated on instilling FEAR in our citizens. We take the liberty of directing your attention to the fact that the defense and security of a Republican Democracy lies in the truth and integrity of Its Magistrates. FEAR is the defense of the DESPOT. It is also his tool.

Regardless of involvment or non-involvment in a solicited war, we the Parents of America, INSIST that the CONGRESS shall be the sole arbiter, and to insure that consummation we respectfully PETITION the Congress of the United States to exercise Its authority under the Constitution TO COMPELL OBEDIENCE TO THE CONSTITUTION. NO PERSON IN THIS NATION IS ABOVE THE LAW and there is no Constitutional provision that the President can do no wrong.

We urge the Congress to carefully and fairly consider this petition.

WE URGE THE CONGRESS TO RESTORE THE DIGNITY OF THE AMERICAN CITIZEN BY ACCEPTING ITS OBLIGATIONS UNDER THE CONSTITUTION AND BY MEETING THESE OBLIGATIONS. WE URGE THE CONGRESS TO RESTORE THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE, BY THE PEOPLE, TO THE PEOPLE. We thank you in anticipation of your performing a Noble Task.

Faithfully yours

_____

Address _____

1 Oct 4 5-193

# PARENTS OF AMERICA BEWARE!

Facts you should know about conscription.

Neither the War or Navy Department asked for, or recommended conscription. Both Departments informed the Congress that they had never had any trouble filling their quotas with enlisted men. In fact the Navy had always had a waiting list of thousands.

Secretary of War Harry H. Woodring opposed conscription, and he was replaced by Henry L. Stimson, at the instigation of the war-mongering Plattsburg crowd, by an interventionist from Wall Street who had a record for 23 years of favoring conscription in the United States.

A group of militarists met in the Harvard Club in New York City on May 22nd, 1940, and planned conscription. Most of them were the same men who met in the same room in 1916 to plan our first peacetime-conscription. Among those present were Henry L. Stimson, Robert P. Patterson, General O'Ryan, Benediot Crowell, Lewis W. Douglas, Julius O. Adler, General Pershing, General Palmer and Grenville Clark.

Grenville Clark, a leading New York corporation lawyer, with other colleagues, drafted the Burke-Wadsworth Bill, and members of the Platts burg group brought the bill to the Senate Military Affairs Committee.

On June 27th, a private meeting was held in a Wall Street Club to raise a fund of $275,000, and on Aug. 5, a letter was addressed to every member of the New York Stock Exchange, asking for $100,000. Both funds to be used in a campaign "to help enact into law the Burke-Wadsworth Bill."

For 20 years our law provided for a 1-year enlistment period. Our Army evaded the law and refused to accept nearly all 1-year enlistments.

In Canada, Australia and New Zealand, conscription for military service outside the limits of their own countries has not been tolerated.

This my fellow Americans is your conscription bill conceived in sin.

British duplicity is exposed again in Pearson & Allen's column of 7-18-41 Star-Journal, quote "The British left Rumania without blowing up Rumanian oil wells because British pounds sterling were invested in them.

How many plants etc. in Germany do you suppose the British are sparing from bombs "because English pounds sterling are invested in them?"

Are we willing to spill American blood in Europe for this?

WRITE CONGRESS AND DEMAND THAT THE PLEDGE TO THE BOYS BE KEPT, AND PROTEST GIVING THE PRESIDENT POWER TO SEND OUR BOYS ANY PLACE IN THE WORLD.

WRITE WRITE WRITE WRITE WRITE WRITE

## COMMUNISM.

We are now witnessing one of the most disgraceful episodes in U. S. history. We have been supporting Dictator Chiang Kai-Shek, who gained power, with Soviet backing, by killing off the opposition, in the name of "Democracy." Did you ever hear of an election in China?

We Christians are asked to sacrifice our sons, our money and our property, to aid Atheist Russia, a country four Presidents and four Secretaries of State, beginning with Woodrow Wilson, refused to recognize on the grounds of morals and democratic ideals. Russia who broke her solemn treaty of 1933 with the U. S. We are to be buddies of Joe Stalin, who has murdered more people and done more to destroy Christianity than any man. Moscow has spent millions in this country to destroy our form of Government.

IS STALIN'S WORD ANY BETTER THAN HITLER'S?

WHERE ARE THE LEADERS OF OUR CHURCHES TODAY, who are pledged to carry the banner of Christ? Why are they silent? Do they not realize they owe a serious obligation to their flocks? Are we Christians going to allow ourselves to be regimented behind the RED flag of bloody Russia?

Let us remember the words of Pope Pius XI on ATHEISTIC Communism, "See to it venerable brethern that the faithful do not allow themselves to be deceived! Communism is intrinsically wrong, and no one who would save Christian Civilization may collaborate with it in any manner whatsoever."

CHRISTIANS ARISE! Carry the banner of CHRIST, let your voices be heard.

PARENTS OF AMERICA,
2176 Carroll Ave.
St. Paul, Minn.

We are supported by contributions.

ALL INFORMATION HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 1-23-81 BY 9/45 sp/sac/cal SP8BTS IC 10/9 960

USURY (No. 4) - DEBT - WAR: THE BILLION DOLLAR LOAN TO "BROTHER" STALIN
DEEDS WITHOUT NAMES
Frank A. Parker,
5553 Post Road,
Riverdale on Hudson, N. Y. City
An independent pamphlet series, 2½ per page-$1 each 40 cs. Full sets on file, at their solicitation, in Library of Congress, N.Y.Public Library, Harvard College Library, and others on request.
*Vol. II, No. 46, November 7, 1941 Pages 177/178

## MOSAIC COMMANDS AND LITERAL EXECUTION IN AMERICA - 1941

At the peril of being called blasphemous by the ultra trustful but silly-informed Christian, certain parables in today's events are too apparent to pass unnoticed.

COMMANDS:

DEUTERONOMY Ch. 15(6) ".....; and thou shalt lend unto many nations, but thou shalt not borrow; and thou shalt reign over many nations, but they shall not reign over thee".

* * * * * * * *

Ch. 23

(See page 173; also 165 hereof)

(19) "Thou shalt not lend upon interest to thy brother; interest of money, interest of victuals, interest of anything that is lent upon interest".

(2) "Unto a foreigner thou mayest lend upon interest, but unto thy brother thou shalt not lend upon interest".

Under those commands, Christians, and/or all Gentiles, are foreigners. The "Union of Soviet Socialist Republics"(Russia - Stalin), having renounced Christianity and gone back under the Mosaic system, are necessarily "brothers", as further revealed.

EXECUTION

A few quotations from America's leading international language NEW YORK TIMES of Nov. 7, 1941 is all that is necessary for average intelligence to see "relativity":

(Headlines page 1) "SOVIET GETS CREDIT ROOSEVELT PLEDGES HELP TO STALIN WITH GRANT OF LEASE-LEND FUND LOAN WITHOUT INTEREST TEN YEAR PAYMENT REPAYMENT PROVIDED" (Washington, Nov. 6, special to The New York Times)

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"I have examined the record of the Moscow conference and the members of the Commission have discussed the details with me. All of the munition items have been approved and I have ordered that as far as possible the delivery of raw materials be expedited.

".....In an effort to obviate any financial difficulties, immediate arrangements are to be made so that supplies up to $1,000,000,000 in value may be effected under the lease-lend act.

"If approved by the government of the U.S.S.R, I propose that the indebtedness thus incurred be subject to no interest and that the payments by the government of the U.S.S.R. do not commence until five years after the war's conclusion and be completed over a ten-year period thereafter".

* * * * * * *

PREMIER STALIN'S REPLY ".....Your decision, Mr. President, to grant to the Soviet Union a loan in the amount of $1,000,000,000 subject to no interest charges and for the purpose of paying for armaments and raw materials for the Soviet Union is accepted with sincere gratitude by the Soviet Government as unusually substantial aid in its difficult and great struggle against our common enemy, bloodthirsty Hitlerism". "I agree completely.....(to foregoing conditions of loan Etc.)..."

(All underscoring and parenthesis mine-FAP)

---

COMMENT

The "record" does not state that the "loan" was requested by the U.S.S.R. In fact, a recent Congressional floor statement was to the effect that this same U.S.S.R had, over a period of nearly 7 years, shipped us some $3,400,000,000 of the $35 per ounce gold, which they had produced with their slave labor. The D/C and T/D records do not disclose this very probable fact. But the amount of gold coming from Japan, Holland, and England, seems to confirm this fact, as a result of transshipment.

This sum (about $2.6 billion) "sold here as a commodity" by "brothers" of Russia, is a credit in America against such purchases of exports to Russia, as they have not paid for "in kind" of exports from Russia to the United States.

The Department of Commerce reports over this entire period indicate that in "the trade of property in kind" (not gold or silver) that Russia also has a credit here.

The Russian credit here, for the purpose of buying and paying for war material (which will probably fall into German hands to perpetuate the war anyway) from here, is at least three times this unsolicited loan. No legitimate reason exists.

Payments do not begin for 5 years after the end of the war, and then extend 10 years, which is more or less like a note payable after death.

"No interest for Russia" over this indefinite period; but what about us ? We of course being "foreigners" in this transaction; our Government, run by the "brothers", will borrow the sum $1 billion from themselves at interest rates of presently about 2.5 percent interest, collectible (this interest) from we Christian "foreigners". This is the part of the "command" in DEUT. 23 (20) as to the collection of interest from "we foreigners", but not (19) charging it to "Brother" Stalin's personal benefactors from the vast quantities of our property (material) which this billion dollar gift will buy, and which they in turn will sell at fabulous profits to the entire world.

→ Has any one ever seen a "blueprint" of any plan for crushing this international financial ring's actor - Hitler ? England seems to have no plan !

→ But the obvious plan is clear as the noon-day Sun, that by using our men, material and instrumentalities over quite a period of time, on the pretext of international defense all over the world, and impoverishing our own country accordingly, these international gangsters will have accomplished through their "Hitler ruse" far greater tangible wealth, than could have ever been accomplished by any other means.

Can they get away with it ? It all depends upon whether true Christianity revives itself sufficiently to recognise its real enemy - usury - interest taking in any form.

Investigation will reveal that this (usury-interest) was the cause of the effect of the downfall of all nations of the past. True progress can only be found during periods of its total suppression, as a "crime comparable with murder".

"Preposterous to believe that money, which is barren, can reproduce itself"(Aristo) If Aristotle had drawn the comparison with the idea that a mule can reproduce mules it would have been a similitude.

But it is a peculiar thing how Gentile stupidness, in its greed for "selling God's time" (see page 167 hereof), will, when anything is said about the abolishing of interest, spring desperately in defense of the very thing (interest taking) which has brought about their present woes.

I will lay them however, this one question (see No. 45 hereof) that with a present debt of $204 billion plus, against a property support of $141 billion (probably minus) just how can that debt ever be halted by any other means than abolishment of interest; and if that debt is not high enough to suit, just where will be the limit - and even then - how will it be halted without the abolishment of interest ?

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"DEALS WITH IT NAMES" MEMORANDUM SUPPLEMENT

BRIEF OUTLINE OF AUTHOR

Born in 1876 in Western New York on farm; trained in engineering and law; with various railroads in official capacities until 1917; officer on general staff AEF Transportation Corps 1917/1919; private business Barcelona, Spain, 1919/1921; general traffic manager American industrial 1922/1929; private commerce counsel practice since 1929; member I.C.C. Bar Practitioners.

GENERAL SOURCES OF INFORMATION GIVEN

| Symbol | Description |
|---|---|
| [1] | This is a 12" X 15½", 1405 pages, weight 15½ lbs. Title Page reads: "76th Congress, 3d Session, Senate, Document No. 172 parts 1&2 FINANCIAL STATEMENT OF CERTAIN GOVERNMENT AGENCIES LETTER FROM The Secretary of The Treasury transmitting in further response to Senate Resolution No. 150, certain information relative to financial statements concerning certain Government Agencies---Feb. 15, 1940 - Referred to the Select Committee ( mine-FAP) on investigation of executive agencies of the Government". (I do not think it is for sale, but is one of the most informative and "justifying" documents ever issued - FAP) |
| [2] | U.S. Treasury Consolidated 1933/1940 Annual Report. |
| [3] | U.S. Treasury monthly Bulletin which supplements "( 2 )". |
| [4] | U.S. Treasury Daily Statement which supplements "( 2 and 3)". |
| [5] | U.S. Treasury Monthly Circulation Report (form 1028 Bur. of Pub. Debt.) |
| [6] | U.S. Treasury Monthly Statement of Paper Currency (form 5702). |
| [7] | Congressional Record. |
| [8] | Federal Register (Daily-contains all orders in lieu of laws - notices) |
| [9] | Federal Reserve System publications and financial statements. |
| [10] | Department of Commerce Monthly Summary Foreign Commerce. |
| [11] | Federal Deposit Insurance Corp. required reports, and "current education". |
| [12] | Federal Surplus Commodities Corp., and current "apologias". |
| [13] | Commodity Credit Corp., and current "apologias". |
| [14] | Department of Agriculture general releases of instruction to the press. |
| [15] | Import - Export Bank Statements and instruction to the press. |
| [16] | Official Hearings of 1940 on Extension Reciprocal Trade Act. |
| [17] | Official Hearings of 1939, extension gold, silver, stabilization Fund acts. |
| | VARIOUS OTHERS AS NOTED IN TEXTS. |

MACBETH: "HOW NOW, YE SECRET, BLACK, AND MIDNIGHT HAGS! WHAT IS'T YOU DO?"
WITCHES: "A DEED WITHOUT A NAME!"

An independent private issue from time to time (as noted below) at a cost of 2½¢ per page - $1 each 40 pages, with no charge for frequent supplements or appendixes, except as may be noted if given a page numeral - not letter.

Remittances in advance of future issues are not solicited, but will be accepted on faith and unearned portion returned if future issues may be suspended for any cause.

Complete sets are on file, by their request, in NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY; HARVARD COLLEGE LIBRARY; UNIVERSITY OF NEBRASKA; and other places, which speaks for itself as to the esteem of qualified politico economic librarians and educators, a point to bear in mind in recommending this series to friends seeking the truth.

FRANK A. PARKER,
5653 Post Road,
RIVERDALE ON HUDSON, N. Y. CITY.

| Number | Dated | Pages | General outline | Price |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| I | 9/22/40 | 1/4 | Protected American market for foreign sugar; Farms | 10 |
| II | 9/28/40 | 5/8 | Political notes, 1940 campaign; Farm regimentation | 10 |
| III | 10/5/40 | 9/18 | Our Idiotic Monetary System(Patman appendix) | 25 |
| IV | 10/12/40 | 19/24 | Above continued; also sugar case | 15 |
| V | 10/19/40 | 25/30 | IV continued; Minimum price fixing; Farm regimentation | 15 |
| VI | 10/26/40 | 31/36 | V continued, with monetary reform plan outlined | 15 |
| VII | 11/2/40 | 37/40 | The secret purpose of income tax laws | 10 |
| VIII | 11/16/40 | 41/44 | Trade Associations; Labor Board; For'n Trade Notes | 10 |
| IX | 12/5/40 | 45/50 | This series begins with the first notice from | |
| X | 12/5/40 | 51/54 | the internationalists that they intended to put | |
| XI | 12/10/40 | 55/60 | in the "lease-lend bill" plan for getting our | 55 |
| XII | 12/13/40 | 61/62 | property away from us, and entrance to the war. | |
| XIII | 12/16/40 | 63/66 | Complete debt and trade history of the case. | |
| XIV | 12/24/40 | 67/68 | Imported sugar-protected American market for for'n | 5 |
| XV | 1/6/41 | 69/76 | Important monetary developments in Congress | 20 |
| XVI | 1/9/41 | 77/78 | "Alexander Peace Bill-Foreign entanglements | 5 |
| XVII | 1/20/41 | 79/80 | Notes on the Great White Hope -Willkie | 5 |
| XVIII | 1/28/41 | 81/82 | Our Navy Ferries Gold From Europe to Market here | 5 |
| XIX | 2/7/41 | 83/86 | More notes on "Lease-Lend Bill -HR 1776, also Willkie | 10 |
| XX | 2/14/41 | 87/94 | Money matters - bills before Congress | 20 |
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List of Issues

Stat Value $2.70

## A CHALLENGE

**›men of America:**

The gravest responsibility, the greatest opportunity ever offered to a generation of women is in your hands.

## YOU CAN STOP WAR! !

Too long have women like the patient beast of the field, borne the burden of woe laid on them by the arrogant war lords of the world. For the free women of America to submit to this the old tyranny is unthinkable.

Here in this land of ours, men and women of all races and creeds have lived together in peace for generations, while we built up the greatest measure of freedom and prosperity ever attained by men. We are the living proof that wars are not made by peoples; that as Emerson has said: "All men are capable of living by reason."

**Women want peace.** A reliable nationwide poll recently made shows 96% of American women opposed to war. For the first time in history we have the power of the ballot to make that will effective.

Women's rights are but an empty travesty the priceless right to have her son live and enjoy his God given heritage of freedom is denied; if that son can be torn from her arms and sent to an untimely death far from home and country, a cheap pawn in an unholy struggle for power and profit.

**WOMEN CAN STOP WAR — WILL THEY?**

## AN ANSWER

For months past increasing numbers of intelligent women, outraged at the very thought of again sending the flower of American manhood to the slaughter pens of the old world, have been rallying their forces to defeat such madness.

Many of us went to Washington to plead directly with our representatives. There in the legislative halls of Congress we were shocked to see but a handful of the peoples' representatives present when legislation affecting the lives of millions of men, the destiny of a mighty nation was being decided. We learned that of the 535 representatives in Congress, only 7 were women. Disillusioned but not discouraged we returned home determined to arouse and inform the women of America.

Today we are organizing by Congressional Districts throughout the nation in order to focus attention on the men we send to Congress. It is through them this nation must be led back to the paths of peace and prosperity. We have learned a bitter lesson, and paid a terrible price for our indifference.

Through our program of education and action, the voice of the mothers will be heard and heeded in the legislative councils of the nation. **WE CAN AND WILL STOP WAR.** that antiquated system of militarism and mass murder that devours the fruits of progress and keeps humanity in perpetual bondage.

**Ignorance permits war.**

## A VISION

It will take every bit of sanity and courage, faith and wisdom we possess to guide this nation safely through the years that lie ahead. We have drifted far from the path of Constitutional Government. We have substituted for the vision of "Liberty Enlightening the World" the nightmare of an "arsenal" to terrorize the world.

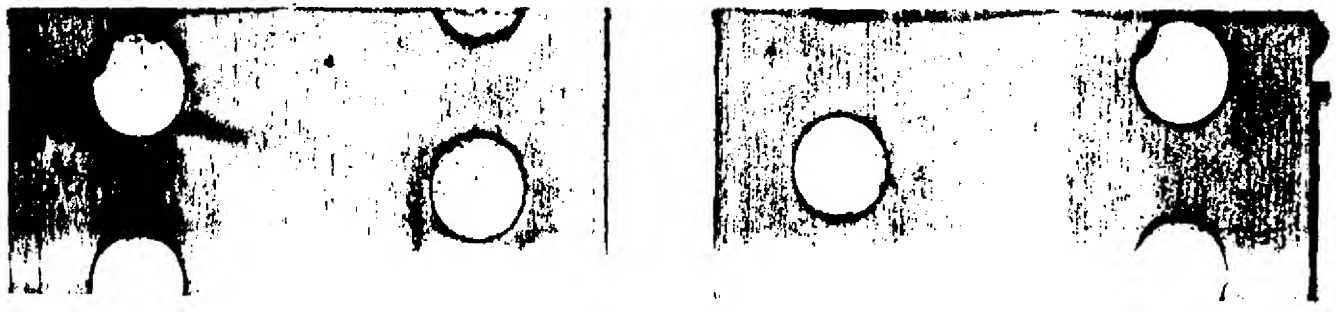
It is for the women of America to restore that vision, for "Where there is no vision the people perish." This nation freed from economic injustice, the root of all wars; relieved of the crushing burden of armaments imposed by the international warmakers; its unrivalled productive capacity released to provide the abundance available, for the benefit of humanity, rather than for its destruction, will be once more a haven of refuge, a shining beacon of hope for a storm tossed despairing humanity.

Not an easy task, we have set ourselves, but we have truth and reason and justice on our side, and the hopes of humanity go with us, beautifully expressed in Angela Morgan's poem:

"O mothers with little sons who stand with lifted faces
All of earths helpless ones cry from the lonely places
And the dead men plead their cause, and the crippled men implore:
Go fashion the future's laws, that war shall be no more.

For war is a knave's design and a coward's brutal scheme,
And men whose courage is divine shall foster a nobler dream.
O mothers with little sons, the years lie in your hands,
You are the chosen ones; Men wait for your commands."

**"Give the people light and they will find their own way."** Abraham Lincoln.



## OBJECTIVES

ducate women to exercise the power of llot effectively and to understand clearly ghts under the Constitution.

conduct forums where mothers may as- e for general discussion and summon elected representatives for consideration tters of public importance and for an ac- ng of their activities in the business and s of the people.

educate the people in ways and means serving peace, and eliminating the crush- urde; taxation for armaments and pre- ng the insane destruction of human life roperty in war.

recall to the minds of the people that our thers established a representative form of rnment in the United States and placed the r in the hands of the people as principals that their representatives are their agents nswerable to the people for their conduct.

work for the establishment of a national rtment of Defense in lieu of a Department ar, which would include as the most effect- lefense of the people, a non-military institu- of research and education devoted to the ervation of peace. Education to preserve e being without doubt as necessary as cation to conduct war. As Longfellow puts it:

re halt the power that fills the world with terror.
Were half the wealth that's spent on camps and courts.
ven to redeem the human mind from error,
There were no need of arsenals or forts."

## Expressions from a Few of Our Friends

"Let me say that I can most heartily endorse the splendid effort and purposes enunciated by your organization."
(Signed) Gerald B. Nye.

"Thank you for your support and the many fine things you are doing to help arouse and educate the people of the country."
(Signed) C. Wayland Brooks.

"I am in thorough accord with the work of your fine organization and wish you continued success."
(Signed) John A. O'Brien, Ph.D.

"My best wishes are with you for your splendid work."
(Signed) Jeanette Rankin.

"I think you are rendering a patriotic service of the highest importance and I wish you the utmost possible success.
(Signed) Louis Ludlow.

"I accept the honorary membership in your organization with pride on the spot. Of course I would love to speak for you in Chicago."
(Signed) Laura Ingalls.

* * *

The hour has struck for the free women of America to unite and use the power which lies in their hands to save their country and its manhood; **TO STOP WAR!**

Every intelligent woman with the courage to stand for principal, is asked to join this organization TODAY. Sign the application card and send it in **NOW**, with whatever you wish to contribute to aid in this great cause. Membership 25c with year's subscription to our weekly publication $1.00.

**WE, THE MOTHERS, MOBILIZE FOR AMERICA, Inc.**
**37 W. Van Buren St., Chicago, Ill.**

#245238
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# A MESSAGE TO THE INTELLIGENT WOMANHOOD OF AMERICA

*from*

## WE, THE MOTHERS, MOBILIZE FOR AMERICA,

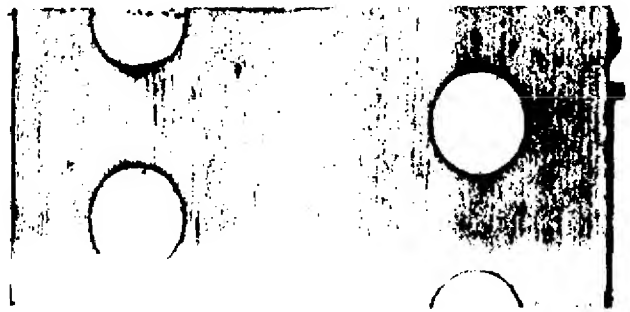
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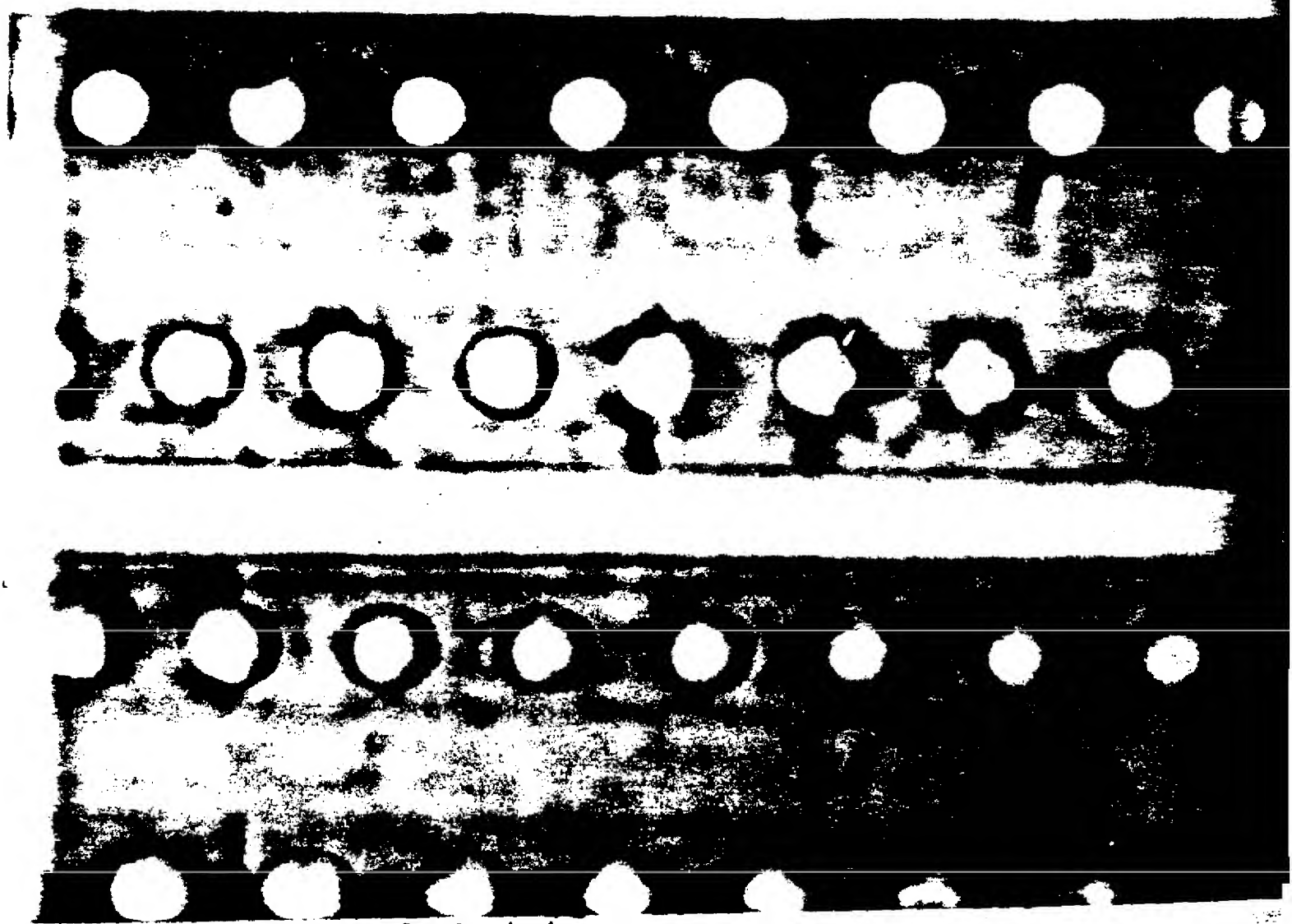
**An organization dedicated to**
**The preservation of our Republic and its manhood, and**
**The building of a better world for a war weary humanity.**

**A sane, sound program of**
**EDUCATION and ACTION**

National Headquarters
37 W. Van Buren St., Chicago, Ill.







#2452238 318,519 SPPBTJ/CoL
10-18-90

Miss Ingalls:

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264.350 9143 Ste(AL)/CoL 8-28-84

Upon later consideration, owing to the uncertainty of your address, also whether the "briefs" would be useful to you, I will hold same until you say. You can get them at any time at my office 100 East 42nd St., room 1605; Telephone LExington 2--9130, between 1030AM and 4Pm

F.A.Parker

Lindbergh's Des Moines speech Sept 11, had at least one good effect in that it immediately gave the line of demarkation of who the enemies of AMERICA FIRST within their own directorships, were.

But if Lindbergh had wanted to put the "real blood test" on these enemies "within" he could have done it just as effectively, if not more so, by making the foregoing hypothetical remarks.

You would have seen the rats leaving the ship (AMERICA FIRST) in droves if their foreign trade swindle had been thus attacked.

I make this remark with the thought in mind, that your use of, or absence of use of, will show me just where <u>yourself</u> and management really stand on this foreign trade swindle.

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Just as a "drop test" of mercenary instincts, <u>you</u> go to one or 100 Jewish - and even illiterate merchants and say:

"How's business ?"

He will probably say that it is lousy. Then you say, if he does complain in anyway:

"Well don't you think that our good friend Mr. Roosevelt ought to shut off all imports for a while?"

And he will fly in your face quick with this:

"Oh no. If we stop foreign trade 'we' perish ! "

So I repeat: that if you want to "isolate" the internationalists in your groups - I don't care where you talk - old ladies or mixed gatherings, just say nothing to your management, but make a "bomb dive" with something of the foregoing hypothetical comment.

SEARCHED 10-19-80

If may be a "suicide dive" (politically for you), but you will have at least a clear consience that you have pointed out one of the things which AMERICA FIRST must do to ever gain respect of the 31,000,000 voters who are disgusted with politics.

The first act of our first Congress in 1789, after installing officers to execute laws, was to set up a tariff wall.

We will never have peace or prosperity in our fair land until we <u>embargo</u> the exportation and/or importation of all capital and/or property. *

Why should we have it ? We have only 44.2 persons per square mile and in our 3,000,000 square miles plus some undesireable insular possessions which we would be better off without, we have everything on earth we need for prosperity and happiness.

Yours truly,
Frank A. Parker.

In hoc signo vinces ! By protection of home industries you may conquer. No other way.

If you approve of this letter, will you put copies in the hands of friends and, in particular, men and women of influence, asking them to help in its distribution.

We want to create a fund for printing and mailing this and other letters. The actual cost of printing and mailing, first class, is just under $.05. To help create the fund the price of these letters to you is $.10 apiece up to 100 copies. All copies over 100 will be $.08.

Address Miss Doll, America First Committee, 515 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y. Send cash, stamps, or checks, making the latter payable to the New York Chapter of the America First Committee.

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Editor--FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

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#24523

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October 24, 1941.

4/29/83 SP8BT/LCS
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The Hon. Franklin D. Roosevelt,
The White House,
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. President:

In July 1870, just prior to the outbreak of the Franco-German war, at a moment when relations between the two countries were exceedingly strained, Chancellor Bismarck, who wanted war for his own political reasons, falsified and gave to the press the text of a telegram he had received from the King of Prussia, describing the progress of the international negotiations at Ems. This garbled text, generally referred to as the "Ems Telegram," making it seem that negotiations had been abruptly broken off, which was not the case, and that the French Ambassador and Prussian King had been grossly insulted, inflamed the press and enraged both the German and French peoples.

Instantly excitement spread through France, already tense over the German proposal to place a protestant Hohenzollern on the catholic throne of Spain. Newspapers blazed with inflammatory headlines. The voice of the advocates of peace was drowned in the clamor. While politicians, hoping to further their interests through war, seized the reins of power and cries of "On to Berlin" resounded through the streets of Paris.

On July 15th war was declared and credits voted by the Chamber of Deputies. And on that day an unprepared, yet confident, France entered the valley of the shadow, where, in a short but terrible conflict, an empire fell, and the blood of young Frenchmen flowed in streams. In less than three-quarters of a century, thrice have foreign intrigue and cynical ambition at home deceived the people of France and plunged them into war and sorrow.

Mr. President, the American people are being deceived. They are not being told the truth. They are being led, by false representations, toward repeal of the neutrality act, which is war, much as the French were led [redacted] seventy-one years ago. [redacted]. Partly by politicians with an axe to grind, partly by foreign and domestic interests with a stake in war, and also by well-meaning citizens who are victims of propaganda, we are being told half-truths and monstrous untruths in order to win our support for your war program.

For instance, we are being told the cowardly untruth that this resourceful nation, with its hundred and thirty million

people and matchless industrial power, cannot defend itself and will be enslaved by Adolf Hitler unless, as the British and Russians ask, we go forth to fight on foreign battlefields thousands of miles from home bases and under conditions of grave, if not fatal, disadvantage. We are being told this in spite of the fact that the highest military experts unanimously testify that, with the huge, modern air force which we can assemble long before any foreign power, or powers, could strike, this country will be as safe as though it were on the moon. "The bomber has made the American coast impregnable to invasion. This is the most important military fact that can be deduced from the European war," writes Lieutenant Colonel Phillips of the Army General Staff. Almost every responsible authority writing in the United States on military matters takes this view. None has questioned it.

We are told that, if Hitler wins the war, we will be overwhelmed by nazi economic competition. Therefore, we must choose endure the certain horrors of war in order to escape future competition that may or may not ever exist. Mr. Bernard Baruch, Professor Sumner Slichter, Lamont Professor of Economics at Harvard, and President of the American Economic Association, and authorities of equal standing, flatly assure you that, considering the efficiency of our system of private, competitive mass production, it will be the totalitarian nations and not the United States that will be on the spot.

We are also told that no negotiated peace should be made while Hitler is in power. In other words, peace must be outlawed until a military victory has been won, however long it may take, and whether or not a drawn out conflict to the death will destroy the rising generation in Europe and civilization itself, including England's, while the children in the conquered areas starve by millions. Yet men and women of common sense know that no peace treaties are binding because good men are in power. They are binding and lasting only when the negotiations have achieved a compromise which is to the interest of the contracting parties to preserve.

Finally, in order to harrow up the people and ride them, on a wave of indignation, into repeal of the neutrality act and war, we are being told that Germany is attacking us on the ocean and, as Mr. Hull puts it, is "attempting to create a reign of terror, frightfulness and absolute lawlessness on the high seas and on the Atlantic." He charges the German navy with acts that are "contrary to all law and in harmony with all the definitions of piracy and assassination,." And you, Mr. President, have gone as far, or farther than Mr. Hull in drawing a picture of frightfulness on the high seas which, in its essentials, I regret to say is not in accordance with the record.

Consequently, notwithstanding the fact that the administration is fast reaching a state of mind where it considers any-

one pro-nazi and "a comfort to Hitler," if he uses the common sense God gave him and speaks the truth about the war, I will, with your permission, discuss very briefly the description of the so-called Greer incident, which you incorporated in your broadcast of September 11th, made from the White House to a hushed and tense audience estimated at fifty million people. And let it be borne in mind that, according to the press, that description so generally inflamed the country, and Congress in particular, that the advocates of war, up to that hour downcast and even desperate, suddenly became happy and confident. You said:

> "My fellow Americans:
>
> The Navy Department of the United States has reported to me that on the morning of September 4 the United States destroyer Greer, proceeding in full daylight towards Iceland, had reached a point southeast of Greenland. She was carrying mail to Iceland. She was flying the American flag. Her identity as an American ship was unmistakable.
>
> "She was then and there attacked by a submarine. Germany admits that it was a German submarine. The submarine deliberately fired a torpedo at the Greer, followed later by another torpedo attack. In spite of what Hitler's propaganda bureau has invented, and in spite of what any American obstructionist organization may prefer to believe, I tell you the blunt fact that the German submarine fired first upon this American destroyer without warning, and with deliberate design to sink her."

You also said: "The United States destroyer, when attacked, was proceeding on a legitimate mission." You said the attack was "piracy, legally and morally," and the act of a "rattlesnake of the Atlantic." You assured your audience that our part in the matter was "solely defense." And, as further justification for your "shoot-first" order, which you announced in that broadcast, you likewise described certain sinkings of cargo vessels in the Atlantic, the Robin Moor, the Steel Seafarer, et cetera, failing to mention that every one of them was carrying contraband of war to the British, in violation of international law, of the neutrality act, which you signed, and of your promises to Congress during the Lend-Lease debate, that this country would not be responsible for the delivery of lend-lease goods.

Returning to the Greer case, let us now see what were the real facts, the facts which would never have seen the light of day had not Senator David Walsh, Chairman of the Naval Affairs Committee, succeeded, after long delay and much difficulty, in obtaining a report on the subject from Admiral Stark, Chief of Naval Operations.

The Stark report revealed: (a) that, at 8:40 on the morning of September 4th, the Greer, being about 175 miles from Iceland, was "informed by a British plane of the presence of a submerged submarine" ten miles away; (b) that the Greer thereupon increased speed, zig-zagging to pick up the submarine's trail by sound detectors; (c) that at 9:20 she found the trail and followed the submarine for three hours and twenty-eight minutes, meanwhile broadcasting its position so that British planes or destroyers could approach and make the kill; (d) that, at the end of that time, the submarine, having failed to elude the Greer, launched two torpedoes which missed their mark, the Greer replying by discharging eleven depth bombs; (e) that, shortly afterward, contact with the submarine was lost, it being uncertain whether or not she had been sunk or disabled; (f) that the Greer's action was "in accordance with existing orders."

In a word, Mr. President, the story of the Greer, as carried to the people in your September 11th broadcast, was not factual. It was in direct conflict with the facts. The Greer was not proceeding on a "legitimate mission" of carrying mail to Iceland when the torpedoes were launched. She was, and for hours had been, tracking the U-boat with intent either to destroy it herself or cooperate with the British in doing so. Nor in any honest sense can it be said that "the blunt fact" was that the submarine fired first, "without warning."

In a way, your ~~incendiary~~ broadcast about the Greer incident was perhaps worse than the Ems Telegram. For, while Bismarck acted on the spur of the moment, altering and publishing it in its changed form the same day he received it, you made your broadcast a week after the Greer's brush with the submarine, and had ample time to digest the facts.

Another case where, it seems to me, unforgivable deception has been practiced on the bewildered, long-suffering public, in order to break down resistance to war, is the tragic torpedoing of the U.S. destroyer Kearny on October 17th, in which eleven men were killed and ten wounded. This incident your administration is ~~still~~ interpreting to the country as another piece of German frightfulness. But, Mr. President, you cannot broadcast to the world that the American navy, or perhaps it should be called your navy, will open fire on sight and blow any German naval vessels it encounters to kingdom come, and expect the commanders of such vessels not to try to get in the first crack.

You cannot cast yourself as a deadly, gun-toting aggressor and then rage to high heaven if you are last on the draw. Nor, having issued your shoot first order in September - thereby starting, without authority of Congress and in defiance of the Constitution, your own naval war - can you in October shift from your own shoulders responsibility for the death of the sailors killed in an attack which you certainly invited. As a matter of cold, hard fact, horrible as has been Hitler's record in Europe, he has on the whole, for his own reasons, refrained from aggressive or illegal acts on the seas against America. And this is the more true when

we remember the numerous and various acts of war committed by your administration against Germany.

No American, whose thinking has not been bent by nazi or communist influence, can have anything but disgust for the unspeakable Hitler, the equally unspeakable Stalin, and their inhuman philosophies. I hold no brief for them. But I do hold a brief for the people of the United States, who do not want this war, which is utterly needless for defense, any more than you did before election day, and who are gradually being hornswaggled by your administration and a half puppet Congress, into the feeling that, somehow or other, war is inevitable, and that we have gone so far and committed ourselves so deeply that we cannot draw back. That, of course, is nonsense. War is not inevitable, nor has anyone committed us to it but yourself, who have no legal or moral right to do so, as the statesmen of Europe should know by now.

Before his great post-election awakening, Wendell Willkie put it in a nutshell:

> "It is the duty of the President of the United States to recognize the determination of the people to stay out of war and to do nothing by word or deed that will undermine that determination. No man has the right to use the great powers of the Presidency to lead the people, indirectly, into war; only the people through their elected representatives can make that awful decision, and there is no question as to their decision."

War is a grim and terrible thing. And it is a grim and terrible thing for a man in your position to get a nation into war by high-pressure salesmanship, misrepresentation, or concealment of essential facts, or by any means whatever except presenting the truth to the people and letting them decide. That, by the way, is democracy. It is also common decency. And the young men of our country and their fathers and mothers, who, if war comes, must bear its pain and sorrow, deserve no less.

Sincerely,

Gifford Pinchot

GP:gh

Bulletin #653
September 27, 1941

19

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

## ASKS BRITISH PROPAGANDA

### Briton Would Fight U. S. Isolationism

(The following United Press dispatch is taken from the Omaha World Herald, September 11th)

London, Sept. 11 (U.P.) — Capt. Alex Stratford Cunningham-Reid, conservative, told an almost deserted house of commons just before adjournment late today that British propaganda in the United States should be intensified to combat isolationism.

"The America First Committee," he said, "last month increased its membership from 10,450,000 to something just over 15 million. Even for a country with a population as large as that of America the organization is extremely large."

"Using all means at our disposal, we should spend much more money and energy in concentrating on the enlightenment of the American people.

"By so doing," he said, "we should be forestalling dangerous isolationist propaganda and helping the best friend this country ever had — Roosevelt."

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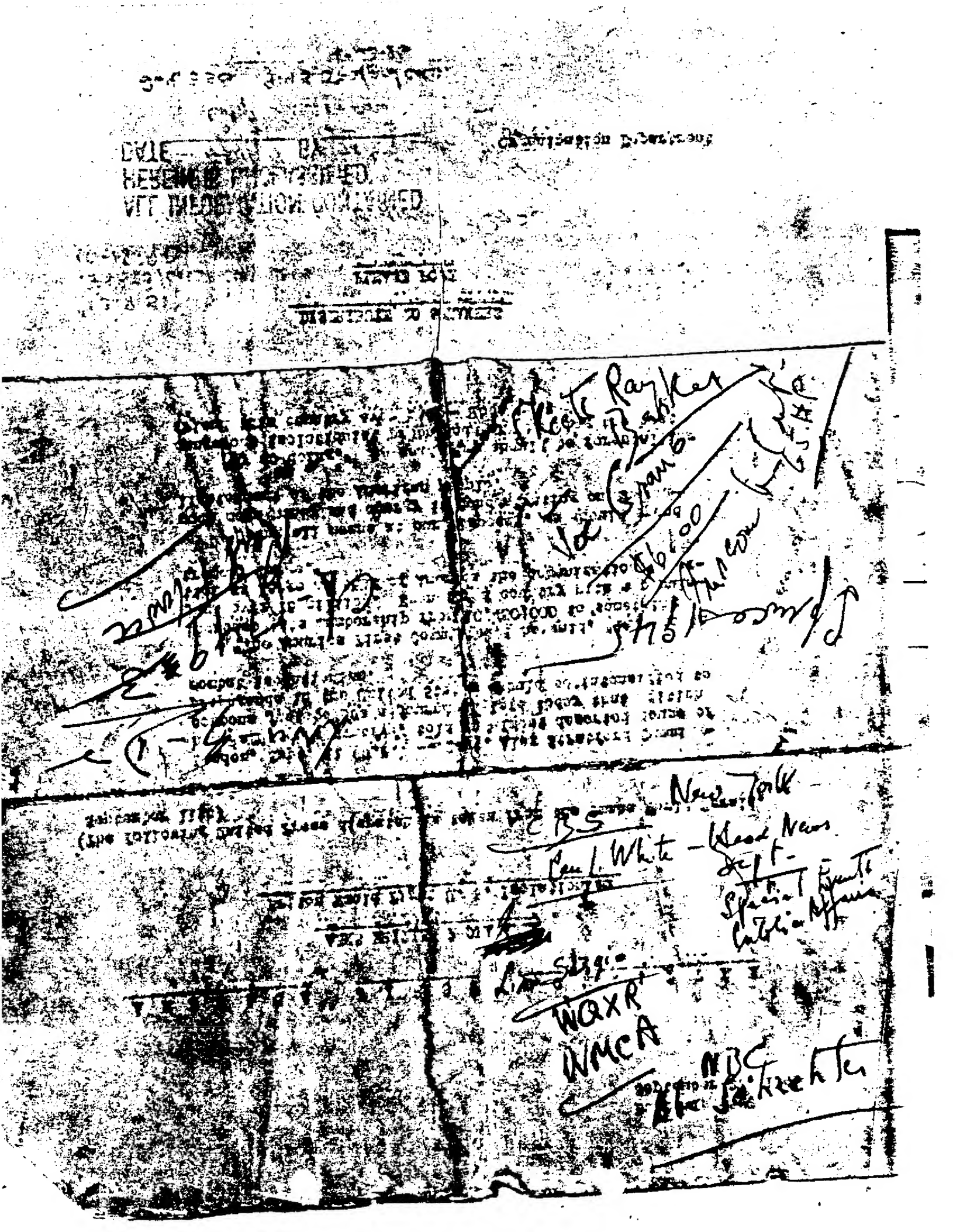
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NBC

unknown" and the cheque bounced back with a charge of $1.40 for bank fees! A New York friend, who investigated, reported a colored maid by that name at this Park Avenue address but whether her name was used with her knowledge or not, we do not know.

## This is the Time to Go On!

For several years, since I became unable financially to carry the expense in addition to donating my time to the work, five self-sacrificing patriots have made it possible for me to carry on factual research which, according to both patriots and Reds, was responsible for formation of the Dies Committee, and which has been felt, as one Red writer put it "in every town and hamlet in the United States." Present New Deal efforts to hector me indicate some "nuisance" value on my part.

At the same time we have built up and are continuing (short handed) to keep records of priceless value to the entire Nation. It is safe to say that there is no one active in the anti-Red fight today who has not used my material. The American Legion National Americanism Committee is only one of countless groups who have thanked me for my assistance.

If I were "smart" and did not cringe from personal begging more than from being hung and were not so tied down day and night at the work, I rightfully should be able to beg, from the thousands of people who have received my aid gratis, enough to get us increased instead of decreased office space and help.

When a second of the five kind "overworked" contributors had to discontinue last week, reducing our budget $50 more, we started measuring and figuring how we could crowd everything into one of our two office spaces to save on rent. But, even by stacking everything in aisles like a warehouse and storing some elsewhere, the problem would be how to be able to work without poking our elbows in each other's eyes!

One thinks, if only someone would donate office space, or if a number of people would only pledge small regular monthly amounts on which we could depend, we might not only make up this deficit but extend our efforts!

Never have so many people been writing in and expressing interest. But most of these real workers are "common people" with slender funds, the kind of whom Lincoln spoke when he said, "God must have loved the common people, he made so many of them!"

## From a Few of Many Nice Letters

From Redmond, Oregon: "I write to let you know of my uneasiness and anxiety. I have not heard from you since the August news letter. Has the enemy stopped your great work? All hopes and prayers are for the continuance of your patriotic and Christian work."

From Brooklyn: "Many thanks for your efforts and hope you will be able to continue on."

From Wapato, Wash.: "I enjoy your bulletins and I pass them on to friends to read. May God give you wisdom, strength and protection."

From Denver, Colo.: "I wish that the necessity for making a living did not so completely engross my time and efforts. For every true patriot should be in business with you saving our country, our free government and institutions and our

Bulletin #687
November 14, 1941

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

## WE ARE AT OUR GREATEST STRENGTH

Thursday, Nov. 13, 1941 the House of Representatives voted to repeal the Neutrality Act 212 to 194.

It was the greatest division of Congressional opinion on a war involvement question that this country has ever seen.

The switch of ten men would have meant repudiation of the Administration's foreign policy.

Actually the number of Representatives who opposed this war measure was 200. There were 6 paired against the repeal. (The entire vote against the Lend-Lease Bill, including pairs, was 167. We have gained 33 Congressmen.)

For the first time in this fight the solid south has cast votes against a war measure. Votes from eight southern states were recorded.

The Democratic Chairmen of three important House Committees broke with the Administration and voted against repeal. They are Hatton Summers, Chairman of Judiciary Committee, Robert L. Doughton, Chairman of the Ways and Means Committee and Joseph Mansfield Chairman of the Rivers and Harbors Committee.

According to reliable Washington sources the pressure exerted on wavering Congressmen by the Administration Wednesday night and Thursday was terrific. The statement of Representative Tinkham, Mass., given out before the vote, was typical of the thought and conversation circulating about the Capitol: "They may be able to persuade enough members to vote against their honest convictions. They are using every kind of White House pressure. We hear they are promising judgeships, postermasterships and all sorts of things to win votes."

Still by your letters, wires and phone calls 200 men voted with us.

The day preceding the vote the volume of mail delivered to Congress was reported to be a nine year high. The day of the vote the number of telegrams received smashed all records.

We are now at our greatest strength both among the people and in Congress!

The fight for American freedom has just begun!

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Organization Department

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## AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE DEFENDED BY NEW YORK DAILY NEWS

(The following is a portion of an editorial from the largest newspaper in America, The New York DAILY NEWS, October 22, 1941.)

"Mr. Ickes (speaking in Chicago night before last) also aimed some wordage at the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE. His innuendoes added up to a charge that the America First Committee is financed at least partially by Nazi money, and he feels that Congress should investigate.

"We can add a bit to this discussion. The editor of this newspaper has contributed to the America First Committee a sum comparable to the amount he contributed to Mr. Roosevelt's Presidential campaign fund last Fall. He was certainly a sucker on one of these two occasions.

"During the 1940 campaign, however, he was perhaps only misled; because he made those contributions to the Roosevelt fund on the strength of such promises as these, which Mr. Roosevelt was then strewing around like Ferdinand the Bull scattering flowers:

"'We will not participate in foreign wars, and will not send our Army, naval or air forces to fight in foreign lands, except in case of attack.' (Oct. 23, 1940). . . 'Your President is following the road to peace. . . We are arming ourselves not for any conquest or intervention in foreign disputes.' (Oct. 23, 1940).

"Reverting to America First — we do not believe any Nazi or other anti-Semitic money has been contributed to the organization. Indeed, from the seal with which the America First fund solicitors make their appeal, the bottom of their barrel seems to be in sight.

"We don't belong to America First. From our observation of it, we believe that its members have but one common aim, whatever their individual differences; and that this single common aim is to keep American boys from being drafted and sent to die in foreign countries in a war which does not concern the United States.

"We second Mr. Ickes' motion that Congress investigate America First. And if Congress finds that America First has ever taken any 'funny' money, we'll not only be much surprised but will make public recantation for our mistake."

Page Hufty
Director of Organization

HERE IS YOUR FIGHT: - DELUGE YOUR FRIENDLY AND WOBBLY SENATOR WITH MAIL ASKING FOR BUT ONE THING ——A FULL AND COMPLETE DEBATE ON THE NEUTRALITY ACT REVISIONS.

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Bulletin #690
November 18, 1941

# A M E R I C A  F I R S T  C O M M I T T E E

*** JUST 30 DAYS LEFT ***
until the Christmas Season

CHRISTMAS — THE SEASON OF PEACE — IS NOT FAR OFF

YOUR COLUMBUS DAY EFFORTS WERE GRATIFYING.

MEETINGS, RALLIES, SERMONS, AND RADIO BROADCASTS DURING ARMISTICE WEEK ENABLED THE AMERICA FIRST CAUSE TO BE HEARD BY MILLIONS IN EVERY SECTION OF THE COUNTRY.

OUR CHRISTMAS WEEK ACTIVITIES SHOULD BE EVEN MORE TREMENDOUS.

SO

START PLANNING NOW TO HAVE A RALLY
SOME TIME DURING THE WEEK OF DECEMBER 15TH.

INVITE YOUR LOCAL MINISTERS AND PRIESTS (per attached sample) TO JOIN IN A CRUSADE FOR A PEACE OFFENSIVE.

APPLY NOW TO YOUR LOCAL RADIO STATIONS FOR TIME DURING THAT WEEK AND HAVE OUTSTANDING LOCAL MEMBERS BROADCAST SPECIAL CHRISTMAS MESSAGES.

URGE TWO OR THREE CLERGYMEN, WHO ARE EITHER MEMBERS OF YOUR CHAPTER OR ARE SYMPATHETIC TO OUR AIMS, TO APPLY FOR TIME UNDER THEIR OWN NAMES, AND BROADCAST THEIR VIEWS DURING THIS — THE GREATEST OF ALL SEASONS.

*** JUST 30 DAYS LEFT ***
until the Christmas Season

THE TIME TO START IS NOW.

Wm. S. Youlis, Chairman
Speakers' Bureau

THE FOLLOWING IS A LETTER WE SUGGEST YOU SEND ONLY TO THE LEADING CLERGYMAN IN EACH CHURCH IN YOUR CITY OR DISTRICT. IT IS ONLY CONSISTENT WITH THE DIGNITY OF THESE MEN THAT YOU MAKE INDIVIDUAL COPIES OF THIS LETTER.

Dear Father, Reverend, or Mr._____:

In times of national confusion caused by calamitous social upheavals, it is necessary for the people more than ever to turn to their leaders for guidance. On all sides men in public office have been found guilty of wholesale betrayal of public confidence, of public trust, of public well-being. It is becoming increasingly evident that the people no longer know to whom they can turn. This grave situation occasions an obligation incumbent on the clergy of our nation - the leaders of our spiritual welfare who yet have the full confidence of the people. It is the obligation to speak out and tell the people what they must do in these times of national stress.

The world has gone far from the ideals of Christ. Therein lies the explanation for our present state of universal catastrophe - the greater has been the retreat from Christ, the greater has been the retreat from civilization, from culture, from the principles of goodness, of truth, and of justice. If there is to be salvation of mankind, it will be through a return to the principles of Christianity, and it is your responsibility as leaders to lead us back.

Soon the Christmas season will be here. There will be little significance in this event unless it is given real significance by you, our leaders. As true Americans, needing, begging guidance, we ask you to make a special effort during this time to instruct the people what they must do in these times. Reason has been lost, war hysteria has torn charity from men's hearts - our leaders must keep their heads and their hearts, guide them by example, show them the inherent fallacy of seeking peace by inviting destruction.

There is an old axiom which sums up well what people must be told: "Operatio sequitur esse." Unless we have preserved the principles of Christianity here, the principles of justice and charity, unless we forego destruction and wholesale mass slaughter, then we shall never be able to lead others back to peace, to Democracy, nor to Christ.

Sincerely yours,

Chairman, _____Chapter
America First Committee

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Bulletin #686
November 4, 1941

# A M E R I C A  F I R S T  C O M M I T T E E

## AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE PRINCIPLE #7

At a meeting of the members of the National Committee on Monday, October 20, 1941, a seventh principle of the America First Committee was adopted which proposed that it was the duty of every citizen to express his views on war or peace until Congress votes a declaration of war.

The following is the complete text of the new principle. All chapters are advised to include this in future printings of the principles of the Committee. It is also suggested that each chapter officially inform local newspapers of this added principle.

> The Constitution of the United States vests the sole power to declare war in Congress. Until Congress has exercised that power, it is not only the privilege but the duty of every citizen to express to his Representatives his views on the question of peace or war - in order that this grave issue may be decided in accordance with the will of the people and the best traditions of American democracy.

Organization Department

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## THE NEUTRALITY VOTE

The following is an editorial from the Chicago Tribune of November 14, 1941:

The house has concurred in the senate amendments of the neutrality act. Mr. Roosevelt is now empowered not only to arm our merchant ships but to send them, loaded with war supplies, into belligerent ports. If this is done it is not to be doubted that American ships will be torpedoed and American seamen will be drowned. The country must prepare itself for a succession of such incidents. The war party wants them and needs them to inflame the public to the point where it will approve a declaration of war.

The count in both houses, and particularly in the house of representatives, was very close. For the last few days and especially in the hours immediately preceding the vote, the President himself and his principal advisers turned on the heat. Even so, the administration was unable to hold many of its own men in line. The country will long remember with gratitude the names of those whose consciences could not be bought with patronage and pork.

The closeness of the vote is an evidence of how deeply the country is divided on the war issue. Competent observers are sure that the President could not have had his way if the members had been left free to follow their own judgments and the wishes of their constituents.

Never in the history of this country has a decision for involvement in war been taken by so narrow a majority. Always in the past the President has lagged behind congress and the people in demands for war. This time it is the President who is pushing congress and the people into the conflict. The difference is an ominous one, if only because it makes a mockery of the claim that we are engaging in a crusade for democracy. Democracy is being tricked and betrayed into war against the will of the majority of the people.

Organization Department

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November

The following is a statement of George [illegible] before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, October [illegible]

In appearing before your committee today, I do so to protest against the march toward war, either by the administration or by the Congress, without the express approval of the people.

The following partial list of steps in the last 2 years will suggest the kind of activities to which I refer:

1. The repeal of the arms embargo provision of the Neutrality Act in the fall of 1939.

2. The transfer of 50 destroyers to Great Britain for lease holds on naval bases, without the consent of Congress in the fall of 1940.

3. The adoption of peacetime conscription in the fall of 1940.

4. The lend-lease bill in March 1941.

5. The first lend-lease appropriation bill of $7,000,000,000 in March 1941.

6. The cancellation, by President Roosevelt, in April 1941 of the Red Sea as a combat area - an area in which an American-owned ship has been sunk after his action.

7. The occupation of Iceland in July 1941 jointly with British troops, and the placing of American soldiers there under British command, without the consent of Congress.

8. The extension of conscription in September 1941 from 1 year to 2½ years of service.

9. The initiation of "shooting" through instructions by President Roosevelt and without previous authority from Congress, to the Navy to shoot on sight in September 1941.

10. Appropriations by Congress for national defense since the outbreak of the war, of $56,000,000,000 - a sum estimated large enough to equip a vast army for

service in foreign lands.

11. The request, now pending before Congress, for a second lend-lease appropriation of $[illegible] for a total of $12,985,000,000.

12. The recommendation, now pending before Congress, for a further repudiation of the Neutrality Act by asking for authority to arm merchant ships. Similar actions, in 1917, were followed by war within 1 month.

13. The transfer, in violation of the intent of the Neutrality Act, of American-owned ships to the flag of the Republic of Panama since the war began, and the arming by the United States of at least some of those ships.

14. The virtual establishment by President Roosevelt without previous authority from Congress, of a system of naval convoys upon the theory that the lend-lease bill committed us to deliver lend-lease aid - and this despite his quoted statement that "convoys mean shooting and shooting means war."

15. The building in North Ireland, a belligerent territory, by citizens of the United States, of harbors and sea or air bases - this by the authority of President Roosevelt and without the knowledge or consent of Congress.

Organization Department

FROM: Richard A. Moore
National Publicity Director
America First Committee
141 W. Jackson Blvd.
Chicago, Ill. Wabash 6996

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General Robert E. Wood made the following comment tonight on the Senate vote on repeal of neutrality:

"Although he persistently refuses to submit the question of peace or war to Congress in the only honorable way, the President is swiftly advancing to a point where he can no longer disguise the real issue. The showdown may come this week when the House of Representatives votes on the Administration's proposal to send American ships into war zones.

"Ten Senators who had previously supported the President's foreign policy broke with him on this issue in the Senate. If there is a corresponding reaction in the House - where non-interventionist strength has been gaining steadily - the President's proposal may be soundly defeated.

"In the Senate fight, the Administration was able to keep its majority in line only by repreated avowals that this was not a war measure. But this time five members of the President's own party recognized his policy as a policy of war and they were joined by five more Republicans. Apparently the Administration's contention that the way to avoid involvement is to begin a naval war in the combat zones, is not convincing even to Democrats.

"Senators Burton, Tydings, Smith, Bilbo, Byrd, Lodge, McNary, Maloney, Brewster & White are to be congratulated upon joining with those other courageous Senators who insist that constitutional government and the will of the people be honored by their elected Representatives.

"The laudable tendency to place the war issue above party consideration was further illustrated by the Republicans who roundly repudiated Wendell Willkie's

attempt to align the party behind the interventionists. The amendment which he urged on the Senators, calling for complete repeal of the neutrality act, was supported by only 4 Republican Senators out of 27 and was defeated 78 to 11.

"The House - much more responsive to the views of the voters - has been consistently less war-minded than the Senate as demonstrated by the close vote (203 to 202) on the draft extension bill.

"The American people have until Wednesday or Thursday to remind their Representatives of the President's statement that shooting means war and the people are against it. If the voters will use the next three days to write, wire or telephone their Representatives, advising them of their views, this latest attempt to push us into war by subterfuge will be defeated.

"The America First Committee will continue its fight to enforce the will of the people. In this connection, I am pleased to announce three new members of the National Committee: William H. (Alfalfa Bill) Murray, former Governor of Oklahoma; Gregory Mason, Professor of Journalism, New York University and Dr. John A. O'Brien, Notre Dame University. These additions serve to solidify the ranks of those who oppose our entry into the European war."

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Bulletin #678
November 8, 1941

A M E R I C A  F I R S T  C O M M I T T E E

URGE YOUR FRIENDLY NEWSPAPER TO

STRESS NEUTRALITY VOTE IN HOUSE

A great many people, who are not thoroughly informed on the subject, are under the impression that the fight against repeal of the Neutrality Act has ended with the vote in the Senate. This, of course, is far from true and must be brought to their attention in order that they have an opportunity to write, wire or phone their Congressmen urging its defeat in the House of Representatives.

The most effective way of bringing the legislative procedure to the people is through your local friendly newspaper.

1. Ask the editor to immediately begin running a box on the front page indicating that the House must still vote on the measure and that the mail received by the Congressmen will determine their vote.

2. Ask the editor to run simultaneously the names of the local Congressmen to whom mail, wires and phone calls should be directed.

3. Ask the editor to run this box or news story until the vote in the house has been taken

CAUTION

Representatives in Washington have advised us that some antagonism has been created by the tone of the letters being received by Senators and Congressmen. A letter berating and castigating a Congressman defeats our primary purpose which is to win him over to our side. Instead it drives him farther away. Advise your members to make an appeal rather than a defamation in their letters to Congress.

Organization Department

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Bulletin #676
November 8, 1941

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# A M E R I C A  F I R S T  C O M M I T T E E

## ! ! ! WE HAVE INCREASED OUR STRENGTH ! ! !

Last night the Senate voted 50-37 to revise the Neutrality Act. In spite of the defeat this was a far from discouraging vote.

• • • •

The Lend-Lease Bill was passed early in March with 32 Senators on record as opposing it.

> After 8 months of the most vicious and suffocating war propaganda this country has ever seen the proposition to revise the Neutrality Act came up before Congress.

The Bill to Revise the Neutrality Act was passed with 42 (FORTY TWO !!) Senators on record as opposing its contents ! ! !

THIS MEANS THAT THROUGH YOUR SPLENDID EFFORTS OUR FORCES IN CONGRESS HAVE BEEN INCREASED BY 10 SENATORS. OUR GREATEST STRENGTH ! ! !

---

THE FOLLOWING ARE THE MEN WHO VOTED FOR THE LEND-LEASE BILL AND AGAINST REVISION OF THE NEUTRALITY ACT:-

Theodore Bilbo, (DEMOCRAT), Mississippi
Harry Byrd, (DEMOCRAT), Virginia
Francis Maloney, (DEMOCRAT), Conn.
Millard Tydings, (DEMOCRAT), Maryland
Ed Smith, (DEMOCRAT), South Carolina
Ralph Brewster, (REPUB.) Maine
Henry Cabot Lodge, (REPUB.) Mass.
James Davis, (REPUB.) Penn.
Charles McNary, (REPUB.) Oregon
• Wallace White, (REPUB.), Maine

### THE BILL CAN BE BEATEN IF THE HOUSE

The Neutrality revision bill is far from passed at this moment. Congressional leaders in Washington are fully confident that we have a fighting chance of beating it in the House. IT CAN BE DEFEATED. BUT IT IS YOU WHO MUST DEFEAT IT.

REMEMBER the famous "one vote victory" on the Draft Extension? On that bill your wires, letters and phone calls the last few crucial days brought a sufficient number of Congressmen over to make the vote 203-202.

ON THE DRAFT EXTENSION BILL WE HAD CONSIDERABLY LESS VOTING STRENGTH IN THE SENATE. NOW WE HAVE INCREASED THAT STRENGTH !!!

Vote in the House is expected Wednesday. Only your efforts can determine victory or defeat. Launch your avalanche of AIRMAIL LETTERS, WIRES AND PHONE CALLS TODAY. KEEP THEM ROLLING TO YOUR CONGRESSMEN UP TO THE VERY LAST MINUTE.

• Includes the vote of WHITE of Maine who opposed the sending of ships into the war zone.

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PENNYPACKER RESOLUTION

The following resolution, introduced by Isaac A. Pennypacker, Chairman of the Philadelphia Chapter and member of the National Committee, was unanimously adopted by the representatives of 119 chapters of the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE attending the meeting in Washington on Saturday, November 1, 1941.

"Whereas the structure of American democracy is founded upon the principle of government of, by and for the people, through laws enacted by the Congress and executed by the President, under the Constitution of the United States; and

"Whereas the wilful, deliberate and persistent efforts of President Roosevelt to force this country to take full part in the present European War are in violation of the proven will of the majority of the American people, and do threaten to undermine the foundations of American Constitutional government; and

"Whereas the United States Senate and House of Representatives are charged by the Constitution and the people with the solemn duty of enforcing the will of the people through keeping this country out of unnecessary foreign war, by exercise of the legislative power; and

"Whereas repeal of provisions of the Neutrality Act, designed to prevent complete involvement in the European war, would permit further intentional provocation of incidents leading to war, and therefore such repeal may be a prelude to a vote for war;

"Now, therefore, be it resolved that we, the Chairmen and delegates of one hundred nineteen chapters of the America First Committee, representing millions of American citizens from coast to coast, and from north to south, do individually pledge ourselves to work and vote in the 1942 primaries and general election for every member of the Senate and House of Representatives, irrespective of Party, who votes retain provisions of the present Neutrality Act which prohibits the entry of American flag ships into combat areas or belligerent ports; and

"We do further pledge ourselves to work and vote against the renomination and re-election in 1942 of every member of the Senate and House of Representatives who votes to repeal the provisions of the present Neutrality Act, which prohibit the entry of American flag ships into combat areas or belligerent ports."




PATRIOTIC RESEARCH BUREAU

*For the Defense of Christianity and Americanism*

DIRECTOR, ELIZABETH DILLING

Suite 733 - 53 W. Jackson Blvd.

Chicago



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October 1941

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Dear Friends:

My skipping a September letter to you, which I regret, is only part of the "skipping" I have been doing. While I have had more personal cares and worries than a dog has fleas, the New Deal has not overlooked trying to add to them! They say:

"The big fleas all have little fleas
On 'am to bite 'em
And little fleas have smaller fleas
And so on ad infinitum."

In order to give the New Deal no excuse to move into my office or "borrow" my anti-Red records, every cent contributed to office expenses has been listed as an "anonymous" donation and income tax paid on it as though it were a personal fee to me - unjust as it seems to pay tax on what should be tax exempt and on what is paid to others to help carry on the patriotic work to which I donate my life and labor.

My husband has always made out all income tax reports; I only know when our office "cupboard" is bare of funds. This past July one Nathan Morris arrived at my husband's office with letters from the U. S. Commissioner of Internal Revenue at Washington, D. C., dated July 10, authorizing him to investigate both of our income tax returns for 1939-40. As the local Bureau had already investigated and okayed my husband's return this seemed fishy, we being small fry financially, as it is rare for the tax return of anyone outside of the millionaire or Al Capone class to be investigated twice.

So on inquiry, we were informed that Mr. Nathan Morris is not connected with either the local or Washington Income Tax Bureau but works right out of the Washington office of the Attorney General who heads the F.B.I. A "fishing expedition" was scented and his first question when he entered set the keynote: "What Fascist or Nazi or Communist organizations does Mrs. Dilling belong to?" The answer was a decided "Not one!" By chance I dropped into my husband's office while Mr. Morris was there and had a pleasant chat with him in which he told me of his long close association with Rabbi Stephen S. Wise (part of whose crimson record is listed in my books).

He inquired about the cost of our home way back in 1920, 21 years ago. "Aren't you going rather far afield for a 1939 income tax return?" he was asked. His significant reply was, "Well, perhaps I am but I have a job to do." I had a fair idea of what that "job" was. Added to my books and bulletins my recent opposition to Dictator-War Bill 1776 in Washington has keenly whetted the appetite of the New Deal and its warmongers to smear and silence me.

## An $800 New Deal "Fishing Trip"

And so for three months Mr. Nathan Morris has been demanding such laborious detailed proof of every bottle of ink, as it were, used in my office since 1939, that the bill of the expert accountant, whom my husband hired to handle the matter, has run up to $800! It must be disappointing to have discovered no "love gifts" to our office from Benito Mussolini or Adolph Hitler. Of course bloody Joe Stalin couldn't be suspected of contributing since we are being taxed to send millions in gifts to him.

Our dog, fortunately, is a little cocker spaniel. Were he a dachshund I might ere this have been in a concentration camp where 80% of our people, George Washingtonian Americans, who also oppose entangling European alliances, should join me.

Congressman Knutson, to quote (A.P. 10/8/41), "offered the House a definition of the difference between a Nazi and a Communist during debate today on the lend-lease bill. Said Knutson: "The only difference between a Nazi and a Communist is that a Nazi can't get a job in the New Deal."

## I Travel at New Deal Expense

With Mr. Nathan Morris still plodding at his assignment of snooping over the purchase and use of any "tooth pick" I might have "twittled" in past years, another New Deal "billet doux" ("love note" to you) arrived in the shape of a subpoena to come to Washington, D. C., bringing all correspondence data, mailing lists, etc., connected with my purchase and distribution last October and November of a booklet of Lord Lothian's previous speeches which were a George Washingtonian argument against Britain and the U. S. sacrificing lives to hold down "the anarchy of Europe" in the "status quo".

At this summons to more expense, I made up my mind not to budge until I had a round trip ticket to Washington in hand; since there are billions of government tax money for bloody Joe, there should be a ticket for me. And so I sat packed to go for three days until at last a round trip and lower berth ticket finally appeared about a half hour before train time. By collecting the rest legally due me, of $1.50 per day witness fees plus $3.00 maintenance per day for three days, plus 10¢ per mile one way, I extracted the cost of a "nice" trip to Washington which I utilized to interview friendly Congressmen and Senators, to build fires under the enemy, and came home via New York where I did some valuable work. "I am here," I said proudly to friends, "at the expense of my government."

A New York friend gave me a huge round celluloid badge the size of a tea cup with the words "I AM A SPY". I pinned this inside my coat and ever since have been flashing it on people. At a ticket window, for example, I asked, "Can you hurry up that berth ticket? You haven't seen my badge have you?" "No", the man said respectfully, expecting to see some official connection, until I flashed out the "I AM A SPY" badge and he laughed. Today a friend gave me a small red nose with whiskers which can be quickly plopped on as one shows the badge! I used it on the office elevator men with fine effect today.

Although my subpoena was illegally drawn and I could have ignored it, I was glad to go and testify. Significantly, I had been well smeared by the Pearson and Allen column and the press before my arrival but was unable to get any statement of mine in the press concerning the matter.

The subpoena had requested that I bring to Washington all mailing lists, correspondence, etc., in connection with my purchase of the Lothian books. The moment it was served I offered to cooperate and turned over to be photostated all correspondence concerning my purchase of the Lothian books, my one and only transaction with Flanders Hall Publishers, of Scotch Plains, New Jersey, no member of whom I have ever met. This correspondence included my initial inquiry concerning prices, my order, my letters of bitter complaint at the huge C.O.D. express bill on the prepaid order which should have arrived postpaid and, besides, came four hundred copies short with the statement that unordered cartons at a big price had been sent to make up the difference (!); then, our threat of legal action and, finally, their letter sending a refund. The purchase was a headache but the speeches were good.

## The New Deal O.G.P.U. At Work

Picture a New Deal "O.G.P.U." scene in which an assistant to Roosevelt's Attorney General turns on all the sarcasm and spleen possible to convey the idea that he is addressing a convicted criminal about to be hung (for buying copies of a Britisher's speeches) as he demands of the victim: "Are you the author of THE RED NETWORK in which Mrs. Roosevelt is listed as a Red?"

Victim: "I am! Of course I have ten times as much on her now as I had then."

He: "Do you intend to publish this?"

Victim: "Yes, providing you don't throw me in a concentration camp."

He: "Certainly you do not think that I or anyone associated with me would ever wish to interfere with freedom of speech or of the press?"

Victim: "Well, I am sure you are carrying out your orders to the best of your ability but in view of what I have gone through since I opposed the Lend-Lease Dictator-War Bill I'd say it smells mighty peculiar. I think they are out to get and silence me."

He: (With sinister glower) "What do you mean by 'they'?"

Victim: "What would you think? The New Deal of course."

A long harangue of sarcastic questions concerning my "so-called" Patriotic Research Bureau. An attempt to get its mailing lists ending with my determined retort: "You can draw and quarter me and throw me in a concentration camp but you will never get out of me the name of one single person who has ever befriended me so that they may be persecuted as I have been."

Denials that this was intended. An attempt to dig into Bureau donations and expenditures and have me itemize these which I couldn't possibly do. I am too pushed to even keep track of the stamps we have to buy.

Victim: "Why don't you ask your own man right out of your own office who has been busy since July counting up every penny spent by the office since 1939? He knows far more about it than I do. He is still there. Ask him!"

My "crime" of distributing copies of the Lothian speeches is taken up. Would I admit they were "Nazi" propaganda?

Victim: "No. Do you consider Lord Lothian a 'Nazi'?"

He: "No, indeed."

Victim: "Well, they were Lord Lothian's speeches. I distributed them during his lifetime; Wm. Randolph Hearst devoted two whole columns to quoting them; the Saturday Evening Post devoted an editorial page to quoting them, all of which went from coast to coast. If he did not make them it is strange that neither Lord

Lothian, while British Ambassador here, nor the British Embassy since he died (Dec. 12, 1940) have ever denied that he made those speeches. They are carefully documented. Have you discovered any of them to be phoney?"

He: "That is not my business. You run a Research Bureau."

Victim: "Since you have been able to bring me all the way from Chicago to ask about those speeches, why didn't you look them up and disprove one of them first? You have the whole F.B.I. back of you!"

He: "You know that you are known by the public all over the country don't you? You think that you are a very important woman in public life, don't you?"

Victim: "No, I do not."

He: "Well, when your name is used on something you know that it carries weight, don't you?"

Victim: "I know that nothing I have ever printed or said has ever been refuted by anyone and that my books have won important court cases."

He: (With a "hang the criminal" tone) "Why didn't YOU investigate Flanders Hall Publishers before you distributed those books with your recommendation?"

Victim: "Have you investigated whether the tie you are wearing has any German thread in it?"

He: "My wife bought it. I am sure she investigated."

Victim: "Went right to the manufacturers and looked into their purchases to see that no embargoed German material went into it? How do you know that you are not wearing German shoes?"

He: "Well, it is more important that the foot inside of the shoe has a kick in it." (Which would also apply to the Lothian speeches.)

He: (Very melodramatically) "Do you know by personal first-hand knowledge that Lord Lothian ever saw those speeches?"

Victim: "No. I was not dere - I was in Chicago. They were delivered in England. How could I check them with the war on? He never denied them."

He: "You never tried to check them in the Library of Congress?"

Victim: "No. Are they there? That is a good tip. I will go right over and look them up when I leave here!"

He: "I will not say whether they are there or not. Have you registered as the agent of a foreign government?"

Victim: (With some heat) "Why on earth should an American-born citizen of all British and Scotch-Irish blood who has devoted ten years time to upholding Americanism do that? Can't one oppose foreign war involvement and be 100% pro-American without registering as a foreign agent?"

Then a long harangue in which he claimed that "James Burr Hamilton", the name signed to the short introduction to the booklet of the Lothian speeches, was the pen name of one "George Sylvester Viereck", a propagandist for Germany. Did I know that?

Victim: "No, I have never heard of Viereck until recently, in the press, but, even if what you say is true, I do not think the little introduction amounts to much one way or another. If the Devil himself wrote the introduction to Lord Lothian's speeches, it would not alter the speeches. If you can show me that Lothian did not make those speeches, I will humbly apologize to every person to whom I mailed a copy. If I prove he did, I will tell them that."

He: "But you should not wait. You should let me issue a statement to the press NOW telling them you have distributed Nazi propaganda!"

Victim: "No, I will issue my own statement and only after I check the speeches; those are what I bought. When I do issue a statement I will send you a copy." (I shall send him this.) "If I prove Lothian made those speeches, I will reproduce them under my own name and try to raise money to distribute a thousand times as many as I ever did before because every American citizen ought to read them! They exactly corroborate George Washington's ideas on the futility of the U.S.A. trying to maintain the anarchy of Europe and its perpetual entanglements in any status quo. Lothian says this is not worth the sacrifice of a million British lives; therefore it is not in my opinion worth one American life. I still am George Washingtonian even though he seems to have gone out of style with some people."

He: (Sarcastically) "So you have a movement called 'George Washingtonian'".

Victim: (A bit weary with the endless hectoring) "No, I have no movement. I merely have a picture of Washington on my office wall because I admire his principles."

He: "One little sentence or paragraph twisted from the context of those speeches could change their whole meaning."

Victim: "I will look into that also and reproduce the speeches in full. I have opposed dictatorship under any name, whether in Europe or in America, and upheld our American Republican form of government. If that be treason, make the most of it. If Flanders Hall Publishers is backed by any foreign propagandist, I certainly approve of your putting them out of business. At the same time I am also in favor of your putting out of business all other foreign agencies including the thousands of British propagandists who are overrunning our country, pushing us into war, to sacrifice our boys and our billions. Also the whole treasonable Communist press which is frankly committed to the overthrow of our government ought to be put out of business and the Bolsheviks ought to be put off the New Deal pay roll!"

Before I finally departed the gentleman began to exhibit a courteous change of manner - whether assumed or real. He even offered to do me the favor of searching for a mislaid paper! After all, he has to perform for his bosses.

## Serving the F.B.I.

I have in the past given much data to Dies Committee investigators and, previous to my trip to Washington, had promised local F.B.I. men, free of charge, to let them put a man in my office to work on my unique files getting data for the F.B.I., which they want and need, even though this would require our assistance and we are pitifully short handed. On my return from Washington, when one of the F.B.I. boys came in for data, I looked up some things with him and then said:

"Listen: you and the rest of the F.B.I. men I know are a fine lot and I would do anything for you personally. But since your boss, the Attorney General's office, had me questioned as though I were a criminal for buying a bunch of Lord Lothian's speeches, I've made up my mind to charge you from now on for anything you get from this office. If they have billions for the dirty Reds, let them pay me for the use of my records which have cost thousands of dollars and ten years of my donated labor."

"Well, how much would you charge us?" he asked.

"Plenty - Lend-Lease style!", said I, jauntily.

"Wouldn't it be funny," Jean grinned, "if the New Deal helped support our office!"

At this moment one state and one local police department are waiting for me to compile reports for them.

## The Lothian Speeches Check 100%

In Washington, after leaving my New Deal O.G.P.U. "boy friend", I hied myself over to the Library of Congress with a dear friend. We got every issue of the London Times and London Observer from which speeches in the Lothian book were quoted and they checked word for word. I had photostats made of the whole pages and speeches. International Affairs of London, Vol. 16, (cited on p.31 of the Lothian book) I secured and had photostated elsewhere. It checks 100%.

I have delayed issuing the Lothian material until I had photostats in hand of the sources of the last remaining four pages of speeches in the 53 page book.

You will get a copy of the speeches in their entirety just as printed in the British press, as soon as ready. The planographing will be expensive. The cheapest price I have secured so far is $150-plus for the first 1,000 copies or more than 15¢ each without postage or envelopes. The entire context is much "hotter" than the excerpts given in the Lothian booklet. I hope you will help to distribute many copies as soon as they are ready.

## Have We Any "Freedoms"?

We shall see whether the fight to enforce the "four freedoms" - "everywhere in the world" - is to be completely extinguished at home!

"What a farce," I thought, as I saw a man in New York picking through a garbage can to get something to eat, just as I see them near my office in Chicago, to thunder about our taxing ourselves to death to fight and bleed abroad to secure for the rest of the globe the four freedoms, "freedom from want, freedom from fear, freedom of speech and press and freedom of worship", while we subsidize atheist religion-destroying Stalin and his murder gang, while there is want on every side at home, while American citizens are being denied halls, radio time, etc., and being razzed and grilled, as I have been, for opposing a dictator who has ignored our Constitutional checks and balances and has been pushing us into war against the will of 80% of the people without even bothering to consult Congress until after step after step had already been illegally taken! To quote him: "We planned it that way."

## The End of Law

As a brilliant Washington, D. C., attorney told me in February: "As soon as we lose the right of Habeus Corpus, dictatorship will be complete and all rights under the law will be wiped out. Roosevelt's third term is now completing the packing of the courts with New Dealers so that justice by law is practically impossible for opponents of the New Deal, and Stimson", he said, "has already been talking about doing away with the right of Habeus Corpus."

England, its people paralyzed by long years of degenerative Marxian, pacifist, Red propaganda poison, found itself, as I saw there in 1939, being shoved

into this world war much as we have been and by the same closely linked international crew operating between France, Wall Street, Washington and London. Since the war, British patriots have been thrown into jail without trial or formal charges, without means of self defense or liberation, deprived of the right of Habeas Corpus under a special measure known as "18B". The following from the London Patriot of Sept. 4, 1941, gives one an idea of the "freedoms" in England under the rule of the international warmongers with whom our New Deal has aligned us. To quote:

"18B

"I wonder whether any of the members of Parliament who sat complacently on their benches whilst this astounding law was being passed realised that they were forging a weapon which might one day be turned against themselves with deadly effect?

"Men in power are apt to imagine that power will last forever, ignoring the immortal maxim quoted by Mirabeau after his fall: 'It is but a step from the Capitol to the Tarpeian Rock'.

"Habeas Corpus could, of course, be revoked in times of national emergency, when the guilt of the victim was obvious or suspected on good grounds WHICH WERE MADE KNOWN TO HIM, thus giving him a chance to defend himself without formal trial. It did not keep him for years in prison, not knowing what he was there for. 18B is thus not merely a revocation of Habeas Corpus but a return to the methods of the French Revolution, of which we are now told to admire 'the glorious principles.' But for the absence of the death penalty, its nearest counterpart may be found in the Loi du 22 Priarial, which deprived its victims of the right of trial and of witnesses for the defense, and heralded that bloodiest period of the Revolution known as 'The Great Terror.' Little did Robespierre, in framing this law when at the height of his power, dream that the dripping blade of the guillotine would one day fall on his own head...

"With the keystone of British justice removed, those in power can use it as they please against their opponents. In vain may its authors cry for mercy, asking of what they are accused, demanding the right to defend themselves. No answer will be vouchsafed but 'You destroyed that right yourselves; now you must bear the consequences.'

"18B is, indeed, on one point even more unjust than the autocratic regimes of the past in that it acts on false pretexts. Under the former, when throwing a man into prison and treating him with the utmost cruelty, no secret was made of the reason, namely that he was an enemy of the political system in power, thus winning sympathy for him and often honour as a martyr in the eyes of those who shared his opinions. They did not publicly accuse him of being a traitor to his country and in league with enemies out to destroy it, which would have degraded him in the eyes of every patriot, even of his own party.

"And this is where another and important aspect of the matter comes in, to which hitherto little attention has been paid. It is not only arrest and imprisonment the victim of 18B has to fear, but other measures deriving from the French Revolution - the Loi des Suspects, the visite domiciliare - in those terrible days when it was said, 'Woe to him who has an enemy!' So today anyone who bears a grudge against another, or any jealous rival, can lodge an absolutely false allegation to the police against the object of his malice, with the result of a perquisition being made at his house. And then, even if officially proved to be the stoutest patriot, he receives no redress. The slanderer incurs no penalty, is at liberty to go on repeating the slander as

long as he pleases, whilst the innocent victim is given no means for making his vindication public. For the rest of his life he will be followed by the whisper that he is 'the man who was suspect during the war.' His life has been spared but all that makes it worth living has been taken from him.

"Unless this unprecedented law is revoked soon...and British justice is restored to her honoured place, no man or woman in England can be sure of their liberty, and perhaps later of their life."

## In America Also

Lindbergh, for telling our Nation the truth about European armaments, etc., is being smeared from coast to coast as a "Nazi". We read that Mr. Henry Ford is to be "investigated" after the radical and Jewish press has been printing the most fantastic libels against him and "reproducing" private correspondence from his plant. This was no surprise to me. I tried unsuccessfully over a year ago, as the result of bitter experience with the same source, to warn the Ford Company of the treachery on their own pay roll - but in vain.

The countless sound patriots in America First are being viciously smeared as "Nazis" and "Fascists". Only in case Reds inside America First are successful in taking it over will it be given a clean bill of health by our controlled press.

## Just For a Laugh

Have you heard this story? "A German and an Englishman and a Russian were riding in the Clipper. In the middle of the ocean the pilot came back and said, 'I am sorry, gentlemen, we are running out of gas. One of you will have to go overboard.' The German stood up and saluted, 'Heil Hitler', and jumped overboard. An hour later the pilot came back and said, 'I am sorry, gentlemen, but another one of you will have to go overboard.' The Englishman stood up and saluted saying, 'There will always be an England', and threw the Russian overboard."

I also heard this one: A plane was brought down in the sea off Norway. The man who went out to investigate was asked if it were a German plane. He said it was and, on being asked whether the Germans on it were alive or dead, said: "Well, one of them said he was alive but you know what liars those Germans are!"

## The Road Down

I wish American mothers with leisure would leave their bridge tables and clubs long enough to investigate conditions among school children as the result of years of Red materialistic "progressive education" and Freudian sex filth. A mother shocked me this morning by telling me why, among other similar reasons, she had taken her twelve year old daughter out of one of our most "select" local private schools for girls. When her little girl matured, eleven year old classmates of hers warned her: "Now you will have to be careful with the boys or you will have a baby. We are lucky we don't have to worry about that yet." She asked her mother what they meant!

One of our North Shore police officers said to me the other day: "If the parents only realized the wild life that most of their young people are living these days! Things are entirely different from what they were in your day and mine. My sixteen year old daughter has been going out to the ____ Club" (one of the joints which cater to North Shore High School and College youngsters)

"and they have been serving her booze. I went out and gave them warning that she is a minor and the next time they serve her a drink I will close the place!" What are the parents of other young folks, who go there and to similar "joints", doing?

My 21 year old son thinks he is engaged to a sweet little girl not yet 18 who enrolled this year in Wisconsin University which, for years, has been nicknamed "little Moscow".(See the chapter on Glenn Frank and "free love" in Wisconsin in my book THE RED NETWORK.) Son is now worrying over his girl like an old father because of things like these: he says her sorority went out the night she was pledged with a fraternity and "co-educationally" got drunk together. They tried to get her drunk too! The girls in her dormitory who go out at night are supposed to sign out and sign in at 12:30 at night but, he says, a side door is left open and those who stay out all night simply omit signing out and boldly come in the side door in the morning; many girls are in trouble. The boys make no secret of their "dishonorable intentions" and, as he puts it, "start working on a girl as soon as they meet her" and "the whole atmostphere is one of open acceptance of such standards. In fact, they make fun of a girl who 'holds out' - even her own sorority sisters - then after she has slipped once or twice she gets just like the rest! I don't want the girl I marry like that!"

Reports of wholesale immorality in parking places there, and my High School daughter and her friends report the same conditions near us, evoke sad and fearful thoughts over the future of America and its coming citizenry. The smut-filled popular novel mirrors the low ideals of the times. P.T.A.'s, instead of fighting religious education, should be fostering it.

## Reds Fight Religion

A sound Christian minister writes me Oct. 15th as follows:

"Dear Mrs. Dilling:

"I am writing in behalf of the Council for Religious Education of _____. We have been giving Religious Education for three years on Thursdays at 2:30 P.M.

"The board of Education has granted the request of parents to have their children excused from classes for one hour on Thursdays. The parents state on the request to what Church they wish to send their children.

"For three years we have not had much opposition but now some people are beginning to object, and try to find some law to have this Education discontinued.

"At present one of the P.T.A. Organizations has taken it upon itself to put on a program to bring this matter of Religious Education to an open discussion which we believe will lead into a debate and ill feeling.

"Here is their PROGRAM:-'Religious Education in the Schools.'
(a) Possibilities for Good - by a local minister. (We refused)
(b) Possible Evils and Disadvantages - Mr. Ira Latimer, Executive Secretary, Chicago Civil Liberties Committee.

"What we would like to know is about this Mr. Ira Latimer. Where does he stand? Who is he? What does he believe? Let us know if you have any positive information about him. And then we would like to know about this 'Chicago Civil Liberties Committee.'

"We would appreciate an early reply, if possible. This P.T.A. meeting is to be held the 12th of November, and we would like to know before hand who this man is and what kind of Organization this Chicago Civil Liberties Committee is.

"We believe the school board is within their rights when they dismiss a child at the request of the parents.

"Thanking you I am yours,
(Signature)_____

I am writing him in part as follows:

"Dear Reverend_____:

"The Chicago Civil Liberties Committee is the Chicago branch of the Communist-aiding American Civil Liberties Union. The section on the American Civil Liberties Union (pp.111-123) in my book THE RED NETWORK was used by the San Diego School Board as a basis for barring the American Civil Liberties Union from using the school auditorium for meetings as a 'seditious and disloyal organization'. When not one fact in my book could be refuted by American Civil Liberties Union leaders, the book was admitted in evidence and the American Civil Liberties Union was barred (Judge Arthur L. Mundo; Dept. 6 of the Superior Court of San Diego; Case number 79805; decided 3/13/35).

"I can show you one American Civil Liberties Union pamphlet after another with their reports on how they continually uphold, in the Courts and otherwise, the 'right' of teachers to teach atheism, Communism, etc., in public schools. This they call 'academic freedom'.

"Their yearly report for 1932-1933 (p.25) under the heading 'Freedom In Schools and Colleges' lists among other cases 'affecting college teachers and students expressing pacifist, liberal or radical views': '(4) The dismissal of Prof. Ira Latimer from LeMoyne College (colored), Memphis, for his public activities' (radicalism).

"When the communist National Student Congress Against War (See p.228 of THE RED NETWORK), called by Moscow, was held at the University of Chicago, Dec. 27-29, 1932, the national committee sponsoring it included 'Ira Latimer, LeMoyne College, Memphis, Tenn.', Communists Earl Browder, Scott Nearing, etc., were Congress speakers.

"I can also show you American Civil Liberties Union pamphlets, issued from year to year, with maps designating those sections of the U.S.A. where Bible reading is still permitted in schools. They continually fight against this. They carried on the Court suit to bar Bible reading from New York public schools for the atheist Freethinkers of America (See p.160 of THE RED NETWORK).

"The American Civil Liberties Union militantly upholds and supplies legal aid for every phase of the Red movement: atheism, obscenity, Red crimes of all sorts, including murder. Lawyer Morris Ernst, now and for many years one of their two National Counsels, is author of a book in defense of obscenity entitled 'To the Pure - A Study in Obscenity and the Censor' (Viking Press).

"Ira Latimer was appointed executive secretary of the Chicago Civil Liberties Committee of the American Civil Liberties Union in the winter of 1936. In line with the intimate relations between the American Civil Liberties Union and the Communist Party is the report of a Communist Party functionary that at a special meeting of Party functionaries, held Sept. 27, 1938, Latimer was among the 'participants'.

"Ira Latimer was a member of the 'Civil Rights Commission' of Moscow's own American League for Peace and Democracy (1/39) organized for Red revolution and treason and forced under cover by Dies Committee publicity. When Moscow's world-wide M.O.P.R., whose U.S.A. branch is called the International Labor Defense, held two 'Scottsboro Rallies' in Chicago, Ira Latimer, along with local Communists, was a scheduled speaker (Communist Party's Midwest Daily Record 6/24/38) and was a member of their Chicago Scottsboro Defense Committee 1937-38.

"In 1937, a fund-raising campaign was put on for communistic Commonwealth College, a little training school for Red agitators at Mena, Arkansas, where nude bathing and atheism were 'part of the curriculum', according to Legislative Investigating Committee testimony. Ira Latimer, along with various Communists, was a member of the 'Finance Campaign Committee' to raise funds for Commonwealth College and its red affiliate, the Highlander Folk School at Monteagle, Tenn.

"In this connection you may recall the donations Mrs. Roosevelt has made to red Highlander Folk School and also the New Deal subsidy given red Commonwealth College. When Mrs. Roosevelt came to Chicago as speaker for the Chicago Civil Liberties Committee, March 14, 1940, she raised $2,000 for their Red work and was paid a fee of $1,500.

"The Red motion picture, 'Pastor Hall', sponsored by James Roosevelt, with Mrs. Roosevelt taking part, was written by Ernst Toller who was honored by world Jewry in 1937 as a representative Jew. He was a Communist who was imprisoned by the German Republic for leading the bloody Soviet Revolution in Germany in 1918-19, and later carried on his Communist activities in the U.S.A. and left his 'Last Testament' to the Communist Party's New Masses magazine before he committed suicide in 1939.

"When the 'Pastor Hall' film was banned in Chicago, Ira Latimer and the Chicago Civil Liberties Committee took the lead in fighting the ban.

"Of course, Latimer also led the protest against the Chicago ban on the Soviet film, 'The Oppenheim Family' (Chicago Examiner, 6/3/39). He was speaker for the convention of the communistic American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born Workers (3/40) held in Washington, D. C.

"'Quits Red Vote Hearing Ahead of Punch in Nose' is the heading of this recent news report:

"'Ira Latimer, executive secretary of the Chicago Civil Liberties union, was ordered from the house executive committee meeting late today. Latimer left when the chairman, Reed F. Cutler (R., Lewistown), threatened to throw him out if he didn't go voluntarily.

"'After the committee had approved, 18 to 1, bills to outlaw the communist party from the ballot in Illinois, Latimer took from his brief case a handful of pamphlets "explaining the bill of rights" and laid them near Representative Dean McGaughey (D., Mount Zion).

"'"You get out of here," Cutler yelled at Latimer. "You're not coming in to this committee and insult any of its members, or spread your propaganda."

"'Latimer stopped to pick up his brief case. Cutler apparently thought his ouster order was to be disobeyed, for he started toward Latimer, shouting:

"'"You get out of here or I'll punch you in the nose."

"'"All right, all right," Latimer replied, and left the room."'" (Chgo. Tribune, 5/22/41)

"To cover Latimer's radical activities would require a book.

"The radical American Jewish Congress headed by red Rabbi Stephen S. Wise (see my books) is also very active this year in fighting to prevent 'release time' in public schools for religious instruction of any sort. Their letter sent out April 29, 1941, asks friends 'to align yourselves with the democratic forces in your community in order to carry out a program of opposition... against release time.'

"Such organizations make a stench of 'democratic' by their misuse of the word.

"If I can be of further help please call on me. I hope and pray not only that you may triumph against the red forces of atheism pitted against you but also that sound spiritual leaders like yourself may ultimately succeed in extending release time for religious instruction to other schools until every child in America is reached. 'Man does not live by bread alone.' 'As the twig is bent the tree will grow.'

"Yours sincerely for a Christian America,

"(Mrs. A. W.) ELIZABETH DILLING"

## America Will Pay

Of course every effort is being made by radicals to prevent any provision for school children to be excused during school hours to receive religious training from teachers of their parents' own faith. As self-indulgent parents golf or sleep Sunday mornings themselves, fewer and fewer children are sent to Sunday School or receive any spiritual training at all.

America is already paying for its present materialistic trend in youthful crime, disease and the debauchery of society and government and if this trend is not checked America will pay still more just like France and every other nation that has fallen. We are now living on the remains of unearned spiritual blessings left us by those pioneering ancestors who put "In God we Trust" on our coins.

To quote: "EIGHTY MILLION AMERICANS NOT CHURCH MEMBERS - A recent survey the results of which were published by the Yearbook of American Churches, showed that of the nearly 130-million inhabitants of the U.S.A. only 52,378,026 were members of a church." We are living in a time of broken faith in God and mankind, world-wide confusion, warfare, physical and mental suffering, broken homes, loosened morals and anti-Christian Marxian propaganda in schools, public thinking and government.

## Red Labor Temple

While in New York I visited Labor Temple, long a Red Center for atheistic communistic propaganda, supported by Presbyterian Church Mission funds! On the bulletin board was a cartoon of Jesus Christ (reproduced in my book THE RED NETWORK) by Art Young, cartoonist for the atheist Communist press, which long ago appeared in the Communist Masses magazine and more recently in Norman Thomas' Socialist Call, 12/21/40, the title reading as follows:

"Reward - For Information Leading to the Apprehension of - Jesus Christ - Wanted-for Sedition, Criminal Anarchy - Vagrancy, and Conspiring to Overthrow the Established Government - Dresses poorly. Said to be a carpenter by trade, ill-nourished, has visionary ideas, associates with common working people the unemployed and bums. Alien-Believed to be a Jew. Alias 'Prince of Peace, Son of Man' - 'Light of the World' & & Professional Agitator Red Beard, Marks on hands and feet the Result of injuries inflicted by an angry mob led by respectable citizens and legal authorities."

Leaflets for distribution advertised "two courses of lectures" under "auspices, The Spinoza Institute of America" at Labor Temple by Harry Waton "author of the Philosophy of Marx, the Philosophy of Spinoza, etc." One lecture, for example, was to be on the "Managerial Revolution", and the footnote to the leaflet states: "We are facing a permanent historic and revolutionary transformation of private Capitalism into State Capitalism. State Capitalism will be the permanent social order of Society in this country as in all other countries until State Capitalism is transformed into Socialism."

That a "Spinoza Institute" should headquarter at a center supported by Christian mission funds is an appalling example of present day apostasy. Spinoza, idol of agnostics, was one of the only two Jews ever expelled from a Jewish synagogue according to B'nai B'rith. Spinoza's first biographer, Colerus, described Spinoza's philosophy as 'the most pernicious atheism that ever was seen in the world'. Bayle, a fellow philosopher, called him 'the systematizer of atheism'. Jewry generally proudly calls him 'blessed Spinoza!".

But this sort of thing is "old stuff" at Labor Temple. I have before me a New York Times clipping dated 2/16/25 headed "COMMUNISTS HISS RELIGION FOR PUPILS - Experiment at Public School 46 Called Entering Wedge for Churches, Freethinker Wants Fight - Rally of German Workmen and Their Families in Labor Temple Boos at Name of O'Shea." To quote the report: "Attacks by speakers on the experiment being made for the religious education of children attending Public School 46 were applauded yesterday at a mass meeting of German workmen and their families held at Labor Temple," (as in the past and at the present)". "The speakers were Ludwig Lore, editor of the Volkszeitung, a German Communist daily; Mrs. Lily Lore, Julia Stuart Poyntz of the Workers Party, Paul Schueler, a German Communist; Anna Louise Strong, author of a book on Soviet Russia, and Joseph Lewis, President of the New York Free Thinkers Society." (For whom the American Civil Liberties Union sued the school board.)

## Bertie Russell Pipes Up

Another of my "cultural" activities, while in New York, was hearing Bertie Russell speak at the notorious red Rand School. Bertie is the little man who so long ago outgrew God Almighty and the Ten Commandments and has so fervently served the cause of raw carrots, unsulphured prunes, Marxism, "free love", the public flaunting of illegitimate sex affairs and children, and the training of the young along these lines. In his and Dora's (one of his wives) little school near London the children ran nude or dressed as they pleased.

Bertie's change, after posing as a radical pacifist and serving six months in an English prison for slurring the American armies, to now urging American armies and taxpayers to take over the burden of maintaining the British empire, is a mere bagatelle for this "great philosopher." He appeared to weigh about 90 pounds "over all" with diminutive unpressed pants flapping over short bony legs, thin deeply wrinkled chops, a receding chin like Andy Gump's and bright little circled eyes like a newly hatched sparrow's reaching for a worm, as he piped up in a voice like the rasp of a rusty hinge.

It was too funny see, on the platform, the slavish kowtowing to this "great philosopher" of anti-God drivel. I wish a moving picture could have been taken of this "rival" of the Almighty's so that others could share my chuckles. Afterward, I bought a copy of his booklet "Why I am Not a Christian". In it he says: "I have to tell you two different things: first, why I do not believe in God and in immortality; and, secondly, why I do not think that Christ was the best and the wisest of men."

## What A Crew!

What a commentary on our educational system that a great ballyhoo was raised in 1940 in support of Bertie's appointment as instructor in the City College of New York by the following college presidents: Robert M. Hutchins of the Univ. of Chicago; Mildred H. McAfee of Wellesley; John Stewart Bryan of William and Mary College; Robert Sproul of the Univ. of California; W. B. Alexander, acting president of Antioch College; Frank Kingdon, former pres. Univ. of Newark; William Allan Neilson, Pres. Emeritus of Smith College, and, to quote the N. Y. Herald Tribune, 3/1/40: "Dr. Harry D. Gideonse, president of Brooklyn College, an advisory member of the board, said the appointment" (of Bertrand Russell) "in every way reflected credit on City College and New York City. 'He' (Bertrand Russell) 'quite obviously is one of the monuments of Anglo-American philosophy...'"

Professors from coast to coast took up the cry including: Lyman Bryson, Teachers College, Columbia Univ.; Richard B. Morris, City College; Philip Wiener, City College; William P. Montague, Barnard College; Karl Llewellyn, Columbia Law School; Robert Lynd, Columbia Univ.; Morris Cohen, City College; Hatcher Hughes, Columbia Univ.; John Childs, Teachers College; Henry Pratt Fairchild, New York Univ.; George Counts, Teachers College; David Hart, Brooklyn College; Marjorie Hope Nicolson, Smith College; Irwin Edman, Columbia Univ.; Walter Rautenstrauch, Columbia Univ.; Goodwin Watson, Teachers College; Hans Reichenbach, Univ. of Calif.; Hugh Miller, Univ. of California; Horace M. Kallen, New School for Social Research; Franz Boas, Columbia Univ.; Frederick S. Deibler, Northwestern Univ.; Ralph E. Himstead, American Assn. of Univ. Profs. at Washington, D. C.; Carl Becker, Cornell Univ.; Walter B. Cannon, Harvard Univ.; Bernard D. N. Grebanier, Brooklyn College; George W. Hartmann, Teachers College, Columbia Univ.; Edwin C. Kemble, Harvard Univ.; William H. Kilpatrick, Columbia Univ.; Arthur O. Lovejoy, Johns Hopkins Univ.; Kirtley F. Mather, Harvard Univ.; Wesley C. Mitchell, Columbia Univ.; Philip E. Mosely, Cornell Univ.; Ralph Barton Perry, Harvard Univ.; John Harman Randall, Jr., Columbia Univ.; Arthur M. Schlesinger, Harvard Univ.; Harold Saxe Tuttle, Edwin C. Roedder, W. L. Estabrooke, J. Salwyn Schapiro, John Hastings, Theodore Goodman, Alfred G. Panaroni, Alexander Lehrman, Cecil H. Kindle, Frank K. Shuttleworth, Frank Mankiewics, Oscar Janowsky, E. McClung Fleming and Walter Knittle of City College; Robert K. Speer, N. Y. Univ.; Harry A. Overstreet, City College; Alonzo Myers, N. Y. Univ.; John Bridge, City College; Lyman R. Bradley, N. Y. Univ.; Nelson P. Mead, City College; Morton Gottschall, City College; also Norman Robbins, pres. of the College Parents Assn., etc., etc.

Then "ministerial" radicals, including the Federal Council of Churches, spoke up for Bertie's appointment, such as: Rev. Robert E. Sandrus, Counselor to Protestant Students at Columbia; Rev. John Howland Lathrop, Church of Our Saviour, Brooklyn; Rev. A. J. Muste, Director Presbyterian Labor Temple; Rev. H. Norman Sibley, Univ. Heights Presbyterian Church, N. Y. City; Dr. John Haynes Holmes, Community Church, N. Y. City; Rev. Frederick Reustle; Rev. John Paul Jones; Dr. Henry Neumann, Brooklyn Soc. for Ethical Culture; Rev. Harley J. Hartman; Rabbi Jonah B. Wise; Rev. Charles L. Austin; Rabbi Michael Alper; Rev. James H. Robinson; J. S. Bixler, Harvard Divinity School; Halford E.

Luccock, Yale Divinity School; Dr. Samuel Schulman, rabbi emeritus of Temple Emanu-El; etc., etc.

Ordway Tead, chairman of the N. Y. C. Board of Higher Education, whose red activities would fill a book, sponsored a rally to uphold Bertrand Russell held under the auspices of communistic Franz Boas' American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom (Daily Worker, 4/5/40).

Of course red atheistic old John Dewey ballyhooed for Russell along with communistic Albert Einstein, who publicly opposes belief in God, and the long time and still active radical John T. Flynn. Flynn's erroneous twaddle in support of Russell included this: "'I voted for the appointment of Bertrand Russell. I know his work and believe him to be one of the foremost scholars in his field...He is a man of the highest character, whose morals will compare favorably with those of Bishop Manning. It is very unfair to him to lift a quotation out of his books to make it appear that he favors adultery.'"(N. Y. Herald Trib., 3/1/40)

## Russell's Morals

The patriotic Military Order of the World War pamphlet of Dec., 1925, which is before me, sounded a warning. Its title is"Dangerous Doctrines Being Suggested To Youth". The subtitle is: "Bertrand Russell's Book, 'What I Believe', Which Sets Forth Immoral Ideas, Open to Severest Criticism - What One College President Thinks About Such Material." To quote in part:

"It is a well known fact that among the Youth Movement 'ideals' is the disregard of social laws, the establishment of a new social order, carrying with it the doctrine of 'freedom', coupled with 'revolt against home restraint' and what is worse, its idea regarding marriage, which was pretty well established by one Harry D. Gideonse who, after talking on the movement before an Ethical Culture School in New York on November 24, 1924, added that 'these were now being changed together with the ideas which the student had as to marriage.'

"...One of the most dangerous vehicles promulgating doctrines of 'free love' and sex perversion, and which is said to be circulated in colleges (the book is in its third edition), is called 'What I Believe', by one Bertrand Russell...Particularly dangerous is the third chapter of his book dealing with 'Moral Rules', quoted below, in part, and which needs no further comment as to its deadly doctrine. Dutton & Co., the publishers, are reported to have said that from one to six copies have gone to 125 schools and colleges." Among numerous quotations cited from Russell's book are these:

"'It is evident that a man with a scientific outlook on life cannot let himself be intimidated by texts of Scriptures or by the teachings of the Church... In all stages of education the influence of superstition is disastrous...For economic reasons, a woman-teacher must not be married; for moral reasons, she must not have extra-marital sexual relations. And yet everybody who has taken the trouble to study morbid psychology knows that prolonged virginity is, as a rule, extraordinary harmful to women...At middle-and-upper class schools the matter is even worse. There are chapel services and the care of morals is in the hands of clergymen...They all condemn sexual relations between unmarried people who are fond of each other...Boys and girls should be taught that nothing can justify sexual intercourse unless there is mutual inclination...They should also be taught methods of birth-control, so as to insure that children shall only come when they are wanted...It should be recognized that in the absence of children, sexual relations are a purely private matter, which does not concern either the state or the neighbors. Certain forms of sex relations which do

not lead to children are at present punished by the criminal law; that is purely superstitious, since the matter is one which affects no one except the parties directly concerned.'"

That is the sort of "education" from which we are now gathering the rotten fruits.

A leaflet before me announces: "LECTURE EXTRAORDINARY - Mrs. Bertrand Russell - The Christian War on Sex - Sunday, Feb. 26, 1928, 8 P.M. INGERSOLL FORUM - Anti-Religious Centre of New York - Guild Hall, Steinway Building, 113 West 57th Street, New York City."

## Russell's Example To Youth

To quote one New York paper, beginning with Russell's divorce from Alys Smith: "He had asked her for a divorce and told her he was about to have a child by another woman. The other woman was Dora Black...Russell married her at once - because, he said, he wanted to legitimize their son to succeed to the earldom. During this time Russell had been expounding his views that men and women should indulge in 'marital infidelity to preserve their homes'.

"Men and women who wished to live together ought to do so, married or not. No man or woman should enter a permanent marriage relationship without having sexual experience first...Thereafter, the Russells practiced what he preached. They had a son and a daughter and determined to rear them by the same free standards. In 1927 they opened their Beacon Hill School in Hampshire, about two hours drive from London...Londoners nicknamed it 'The Paradise of Bad Children'. One story reported of the school was the visit of an adult who found the door opened by a 9-year-old girl completely nude. 'My God!' he exclaimed in consternation. 'There is no God,' the girl retorted coldly, and shut the door.

"During this time both Russell and his wife were experimenting with free love. Together they wrote 'Sex Freedom'. Russell made no effort to conceal his romantic affairs with other women. And his wife had her own. Finally, in 1933, London society, which had watched this with perturbation, was utterly aghast to read in the staid London Times the announcement of the birth of a child to 'Countess Russell and Mr. Griffin Barry'. Mr. Barry, it developed, was a journalist...

"But in the Spring of 1934 she filed suit for divorce...She asserted that Russell who was then 61, had misbehaved several times with a 20-year-old girl named Helen Spence. She went on to say that while she, the countess, had had affairs, Russell had had twice as many. The divorce was granted. Russell married Helen Spence - his third wife.

"Meanwhile, on the educational and philosophical fronts, all had not gone too well either. Back in 1924 Russell had made a number of speeches in China. When Bishop Birney of China arrived in this country to attend the Methodist Episcopal Quadrennial Conference, he labeled Russell's views as 'anti-Christian,' declaring: 'The youth movement in China includes a group which is assailing the Bible, and Bertrand Russell has lent his aid to this anti-Christian group by speaking at its meetings.'"

## The Rand School Program

To return to the Rand School pro-war, pro-"Union Now" program, of Sept. 20th, on which Bertie spoke, I observed, while waiting to hear this "star", the plaque

of red Eugene V. Debs which decorates one wall of this Rand School auditorium, named in Deb's honor, and also other walls decorated with paintings of naked ladies, more yellowish in hue, less meaty and pink than old time saloon models, one being entitled "To-morrow - Hope of Man".

## Algernon Speaks

"Milk-fed" Algernon Lee, head of red Rand School, a perfect "Algernon" with soft round face and toy moustache, lengthily and daintily held forth, upholding the League of Nations and urging that the U.S.A. join the British Empire and the "governments in exile" in warlike actions, quite unperturbed as shouts of "Louder!" kept resounding from lusty members of the audience unable to hear him. A few gentiles were present.

Wm. E. Bohn, Rand School instructor and editor of the socialist paper, the New Leader (free copies of which were on every seat as we entered), with painful grinning grimaces and groping for words, then introduced a man who, he said, is now "leading community thinking". This was the long-time radical Harry D. Gideonse (listed in THE RED NETWORK), president of Brooklyn College, who more recently has aided the Spanish Reds and various Red refugee committees, and was speaker for pro-Red, anti-Christian B'nai B'rith Day at the New York World's Fair along with B'nai B'rith's international president, Harry Monsky (Sentinel, 9/12/40). Gideonse' commendation of the rabid-for-war Jewish socialist Social Democratic Federation paper, The New Leader, distributed by Rand School, appears in its 11/23/40 issue.

Gideonse, the most effective speaker of the assortment, said that force is not bad; that the end justifies the means depending on the ends and means; — that law is anchored in force; that we must remember that the Dred Scott decision and interpretation of the Constitution was settled by General Grant's army; that we must "dismantle our ideas of national sovereignty"; that we "need entangling alliances".

## Miller Speaks

Mr. Bohn, with more inimitable grimaces, then announced that Wm. Green, head of the American Federation of Labor had designated Matthew Woll as speaker on this program, to represent the A.F. of L., but that Mr. Woll, being unable to come, had sent, instead, his "dear friend" Spencer Miller, long-time director of the Workers Education Bureau. Radical "Miller" has served various Socialist Party committees, and his socialistic Workers Education Bureau has been endorsed jointly by the A. F. of L. and the socialist Cooperative League of U.S.A. which is a fellow member with the Soviet Government's Cooperatives in the International Cooperative Alliance. (See my books.)

Bull-jawed Miller held forth so long, and with so much repetition, and the seats were so hard, I felt he really owed me money for listening - even though it would be useless to attempt to collect! He insisted that labor is asking that we abandon "short of war" and that this war is a "world revolution" and this is "our world". He said he had followed the "Union Now" Streit movement for 25 years; that Bevin (the English Red) and his trade union movement intended to reorganize Britain and British society after the war, and that we must work closely with them and reorganize both countries, two British delegates being then on the way here, he said, to help this. His demand for reorganizing and reconstructing American life (along radical lines) was reiterated until the weariness of boredom overwhelmed one.

His reference to "my friend John Flynn" (of America First) and to himself

being denied, then admitted, to an America First rally, was significant to one in the know.

## Bertie Speaks

At last came the "piece de resistance", the supreme of supremes of the program - Bertie Russell himself! Bohn, in introduction, humbly repeated how "proud and happy" he was to introduce Russell and how glad he would be if he were to "speak all night", this "really great philosopher", how "very, very proud" he was to introduce Mr. Russell.

Russell, beaming with pride, then piped up like a little sparrow, with broad British accent on words like "wah", "knaow", "suppaose", and informed us that British and U.S.A. interests are identical; that the U.S.A. by being neutral in peace time starts wars, as no country would dare fight if they knew the U.S.A. were against them; that the U.S.A. must guarantee in the future all small nations like Denmark by force; that "the United States must have all the responsibilities after the war"; "it cannot evade them"; that a world-wide Federation composed of the U.S.A. and British Empire must be set up and that other countries willing to assist should also be admitted as members but that this world Federation must not insist that member countries be democracies; "We must accept Stalin's Russia", he said; also the Federation must own all of the world's air force and arms; that the Federation's World Executive must have authority to define which country is, or is not, an aggressor, have power to declare war, command the world armed forces, tax goods on countries coming from outside the Federation, control all colonial possessions in the world, enforce every treaty; that the U.S.A. "must be willing as a member of the Federation to take part in disputes all over the world", as is its duty in China now.

He made one inadvertent admission, damaging to his war talk, that "everyone knew the Versailles Treaty was unjust" and since it could not be revised "armed force was necessary".

## Why Pay for Such "Education"?

Visit university libraries and count the numbers of vicious, obscene, Communist books, the books by radicals like Goodwin B. Watson, Harold Rugg, John Dewey and a host of little "tin god" Marxist intellectuals who vaunt their anti-Christian, anti-American, anti-moral garbage in pompous verbiage. I have done this in several universities. Not one parent in a thousand, however, reading the names of their children's educators knows or bothers to find out what these men actually teach. Read what you are paying to have your children taught!

## 81 Freud Book Titles

My report on an incomplete survey I made of the University of Michigan in the Spring of 1939 includes this:

"Sigmund Freud, the Austrian Jewish exile who was a supporter of the Communist congress held in Amsterdam in 1932, has probably done more to break down moral decency and to spread sex filth under the guise of science than any other single man.

"When I visited the University of Michigan library there were counted 81 Sigmund Freud book titles. These well-thumbed volumes are evidence of University recommendations of this filth for student reading. A convinced disciple of Freud

might well become ashamed of decent family affection. Freudian 'scientific' analyses continually portray love for mother, father, sister, or brother as being based on some sordid sexual desire for them.

"Making Everything Sexual

"As an example, the following is from one of the much used copies of Freud's 'Interpretation of Dreams' in the University of Michigan Library (Library card number 616.8F9T-T138,1913), page 257: 'It is correct to say that there is no series of associations which cannot be adapted to the representation of sexual facts. I conclude with the dream of a chemist, a young man, who has been trying to give up his habit of masturbation by replacing it with intercourse with women. Preliminary statement...'

"(Page 242) 'If with my patients I emphasize the frequency of the Oedipus dream of having sexual intercourse with one's mother - I get the answer...I can assure the reader that veiled dreams of sexual intercourse with the mother are a great deal more frequent than open ones to the same effect. There are dreams about landscapes and localities in which emphasis is always laid upon the assurance 'I have been there before'. In this case the locality is always the genital organ of the mother; it can indeed be asserted with such certainty of no other locality that one 'has been there before'.

"(Page 241) 'We have already asserted elsewhere that dreams which are conspicuously innocent invariably embrace coarse erotic wishes, and we might confirm this by means of numerous fresh examples...'

"Moral Garbage

"Parents who are as revolted at reading such a characteristic excerpt from Freud as I am to insert it, should bear in mind that the pages and pages of degenerate, unprintable dream 'examples' given in connection with it, not cited here, are even more revolting, and that all of this is in print and in the University of Michigan and other college libraries in constant use by fine young people sent there by their parents to be dosed by such poison. It would be better if parents, instead of their children, read Freud until they became angry enough to clean such anti-Christian, moronic, moral garbage out of the educational institutions attended by our nation's children."

Freud was chosen in 1937 by the votes of Jewish communities all over the world from a list of 420 suggested names as one of the 120 living Jews most illustriously HOLDING UP "LIVING IDEALS TO JEWISH YOUTH".

"RUSSELL DENIES EXISTENCE OF DEITY BEFORE MORE THAN 2000 YESTERDAY

"This is the bold heading in the Feb. 19, 1939, issue of The Michigan Daily. Below it appears the picture showing Bertrand Russell, with 'Professor DeWitt Parker emerging from the Graduate Building after his morning lecture.'" And, typical of current apostasy was the admission that Russell "presenting the agnostic point of view" was "sponsored by the Student Religious Association."

"hat They Read at College

In addition, in the Univ. of Michigan library card index I counted cards on books by the following authors listed in the official catalogues of the Soviet Government's "International Publishers" and the Communist Party's "Workers Library Publishers", as follows: Henri Barbusse (French Communist) (16); Max Beer (16); Anthony Bimba, the Central Committeeman of the Communist Party who when

sued for blasphemy was defended by the American Association for Advancement of Atheism, the Garland Fund and the American Civil Liberties Union (2); Earl Browder's "What is Communism" (3); Emile Burns (5); Alan Calmer (2); Wm. Peyton Coates (1); Henry David (2 copies); Horace B. Davis (1); Jerome Davis (12); Paul De Kruif (1); Robt. W. Dunn (8); R. Palme Dutt (5); Karl Marx and Friederich Engels (41); also cards on books covering Marx and Engels (79); Ben Field (1); Vera Figner (1); Louis Fischer (3); Wm. Z. Foster (5); Ralph Winston Fox (6); Joseph Freeman (4); Harry Gannes (1); Michael F. Gold, columnist of the Daily Worker, (2); Maxim Gorky (2); Jack Hardy (2); Wm. D. Haywood (1); Granville Hicks (3); Leo Huberman (1); Grace Hutchins (1); Allen Hutt (1); Frank Jellinek (1); Susan-Myra Kingsbury (7); Peter A Kropotkin, Russian revolutionist, (15); Jurgen Kuczynski (6); Nadezhda Z. Krupskaya, Lenin's widow, (1); Joshua Kunitz (4); John Langdon-Davies (8); Joseph Lash with James Wechsler (1); V. I. Lenin (35); Gustav Mayer (1); Gustavus Myers (1); Wolf Abram Nodel (1); M. N. Pokrovsky (5); John Reed (1); Anna Rochester (8); F. L. Schuman (13); Sin Fu Seng (1); Agnes Smedley (1); John L. Spivak (1); Josef Stalin (20 cards including books about Stalin); John Strachey (7); Anna Louise Strong (16); D. Tanin (1); Charlotte Todes (1); Sidney and Beatrice Webb (32); Albert Rhys Williams (5); Walter Wilson (1); V. A. Yakhontoff (4); Samuel Yellen (1).

Cards on books by the following authors, members of the executive and national committee of the communist League of American Writers, in the Univ. of Michigan library included: Newton Arvin (2); Isador Schneider (2); James T. Farrell (20); Lewis Mumford (22); Richard Wright (4); Malcolm Cowley (3); Matthew Josephson (6); Alfred Kreymborg (4); John Howard Lawson (4); Edwin Seaver (1); Genevieve Taggard (1); Horace Gregory (2); Grace Lumpkin (1); Clifford Odets (5); Paul Peters (2); and Corliss Lamont, atheist head of the communist Friends of the Soviet Union and participant in the Congress of the above,(2); Erskine Caldwell (2); Jos. Freeman (4); and Mike Gold (2).

In a very incomplete survey, 189 were counted covering books on the subject of Communism, 76 cards for books on the subject of the Soviet Union, 656 cards listing books by radicals, 74 cards on Materialism (Atheism) and 81 cards on the filthy Sugmund Freud. But among the many Massachusetts House Reports in the Library, the one exposing and condemning Communist subversive activities was noticeable by its absence.

## Winchell Again

While in New York, a lovely big dinner party was given for me. How I enjoyed meeting old friends! Warmongering Walter Winchell, who distributed Communist John L. Spivak's libelous book to every member of Congress, and who keeps the radio hot with lies concerning me and all other sincere patriots, suspected of disinclination to die for his co-racials abroad, reported (9/26/41): "Liz Dilling is in our midst. Had a party in her honor at the Griffin t'other night. Lizzy made a talk and called ye ed a warmonger and her persecutor. She said that her plans to get us boycotted out of business were 'proceeding according to plan'. Sounds like a D.N.B. announcement from Berlin."

But, Moscow's old trick of pinning a Nazi label on any and every opponent is becoming hackneyed since it has become necessary to pin it on 80% of our people. When every Jewish paper and commentator in the country yells for war this is called "patriotism" but, when Lindbergh says they yell for war this is called "anti-Semitism" or "Naziism".

## Why Did Katherine Lewis Resign?

Supposedly, because of Lindbergh's reference to the current Jewish enthusiasm

for U.S.A. involvement in the present war, Katherine Lewis, daughter and assistant of John L. Lewis, a faithful "fellow-traveler" of the Communist Party line ever since the C.I.O. was organized, has resigned from the national board of America First. (Chicago Times, 10/23/41.) But, meantime, bear in mind that the Communist Party line changed from isolationism to intervention when the Nazi-Soviet pact was broken.

## Red Methods

A most interesting and cultured European whom I met while in New York told me how he had been captured and imprisoned in Russia at the end of the World War and was shifted from prison to prison during and after the bloody Red revolution; how in 1918, an epidemic of typhoid and malaria broke out among the 40,000 prisoners in the Russian prison at Totskoylager where he was incarcerated. The Reds had no medicines and, becoming fearful of the epidemic spreading, they burned the whole prison, prisoners and all; he was one of a very few who succeeded in escaping.

## They Are Crushing Opposition

I was shocked to discover, in New York, how thoroughly the enemy has bored from within or utterly shattered every anti-Red organization there.

The American Patriots, who formerly held fine meetings, have long since folded up, broken up from within. A. Cloyd Gill was with the American Patriots until their finish. Reports of his friendly relations with pro-Red, anti-Christian B'nai B'rith were current when I was there in 1938-9 just before the American Patriots' demise.

Last year, when I was in New York, my friend Jo Kamp who, through his Constitutional Educational League, has issued such excellent releases, was worried to death about paying his 'phone bill, etc. Cloyd Gill has been with Jo Kamp since Gill's unpleasant severance last fall from American Women Against Communism, directed by my friend Mrs. A. Cressy Morrison. Her organization, recently, was offered large financial help, for the use of its name, to be supplied from some unnamed source, by a person who gave Gill as his only reference. She has wisely refused this "aid", I understand.

Recently, when I 'phoned the Constitutional Educational League in New York, to speak to Jo Kamp, Mr. Gill, who answered, told me Kamp was honeymooning in the South. Although I cannot recall meeting Mr. Gill, he said very pleasantly that he had met me. So, I frankly questioned him about his policies and the reports I had heard. I had noted a change in the last Constitutional Educational League release, a change savouring of that so-familiar B'nai B'rith, Friends of Democracy propaganda "line", a crescendo which murmurs against "Communism" at the bottom rising to howling against "Nazis" and "Fascists" like Lindbergh (the label pinned on all opponents these days) up to bellowing against "anti-Semitism."

I had seen the letterhead of the Veterans Peace Temple of 1939 with Milton Solomon's name as chairman and A. Cloyd Gill's as executive vice-chairman. As Milton Solomon lists his connection with pro-Red, anti-Christian B'nai B'rith, in "Who's Who in American Jewry", I asked Gill about this. He readily admitted this association and expressed the highest admiration for Solomon and also for B'nai B'rith as an organization.

With sincerity, I complimented Gill on his former chart exposing the radicalism of the Federal Council of Churches, distributed by American Women Against

Communism. He chuckled and said that it had certainly surprised Federal Council leaders who asked, to quote, "'Can this be the same Gill who used to be so socially minded and who worked so closely with us?' But," said he, "It is the Federal Council that has changed, not I. When I helped them draw up their 1919-20 Steel Strike Report I used to meet with them every night". He seemed proud of the Report.

## The Federal Council and the Steel Strike

Of course, anyone who has studied and kept records on the subject knows that the Federal Council has never changed since the day it was organized and adopted the Social Creed of the Churches praised by Lenin! Also, anyone familiar with the history of the 1919-20 Steel Strike, led by communist Wm. Z. Foster, and of the stench raised by the Report on it issued by radical Federal Council leaders, would be as shocked as I was to hear him admit this!

Red Bishop McConnell of the Federal Council of Churches, who headed the Commission in whose name this Report on the 1919 Steel Strike was issued, has been active in leading communist activities to date. In "Fight" magazine (6/37), the magazine of the Communist Party's American League for Peace and Democracy, is an article entitled "Steel - By Bishop Francis J. McConnell as told to Dorothy McConnell". (His daughter and a staff member then of this Communist magazine and organization.)

In this article McConnell mentions his conversations with Communist Wm. Z. Foster who agitated this revolutionary 1919 Steel Strike embracing 356,000 men and says: "At the very end Fitzpatrick and Foster came to us and asked us to try our hands at arbitration with the United States Steel Corporation...Mr. Gary refused to arbitrate. The men on strike, he declared, were 'Bolsheviki' and better out of the mill...With the publication of the Steel Report by our Commission, some time after the close of the strike, a howl went up from steel officials and their sympathizers all over the country..."

## The Dept. of Justice on the Strike

A Dept. of Justice report, issued 5/6/20, which is before me, concerns this same Federal Council Steel Strike Report and states that investigators were sent to Pittsburgh, to quote, "for the purpose of investigating the steel strike and that all of these investigators were more or less radicals and that they were utilized by W. Z. Foster...in presenting his side of the strike." It also covers the records of various professional Red agitators, involved along with Federal Council reds like Harry Ward, recent head of the Communist Party's American League for Peace and Democracy in whose magazine Bishop McConnell's above article on the strike appeared.

Gill said that his next brochure would be entitled "The Jew is My Neighbor" and that he would send me a copy. He has since done so with the request for my comment. I asked him whom he considered the outstanding anti-Communist Jews. He mentioned Judge Jos. M. Proskauer and his American Jewish Committee and one Simon Lazarus of Columbus, a department store owner who, he said, "gave me $3200 for just one of my projects. In fact," Gill said, "the greatest support I have had through the years has been from the Jews!"

## Gill's Pamphlet Razzing Lindbergh

The full title of Gill's booklet which he sent me is "The Jew is My Neighbor - An Open Letter to Uncle Sam's Problem Child - Charles A. Lindbergh". It reads like a B'nai B'rith harangue and is as full of inaccuracies. It berates Lindbergh

and his "mischief-making Quislings", denounces the current Senatorial inquiry into motion-picture war-propaganda, upholds "aliens" and, copying red Birkhead's Friends of Democracy line says: "For your information, Charles, a recent national survey of Fifth Column elements in the United States showed approximately 700 groups definitely listed as belonging to the Fifth Column...However, not one of the important and typically Jewish Organizations is in the Fifth Column Roster." (Baloney: Zionist collectives financed from America are as Marxian in practice in Palestine as Sovietism.)

In his booklet Gill upholds the Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (long officered by officials of Kuhn Loeb & Co. whose late head, Jacob Schiff, financed the Russian Revolution) which has poured millions of dollars into Soviet Russia in recent years and is interlocked with the American Jewish Committee. Gill also quotes in his booklet a speech by Judge Proskauer, executive committeeman of the American Jewish Committee.

## Gill's Leading "Anti-Reds"

The American Jewish Committee is tied in with every radical project. The Associated Press, 6/18/38, announced the union for united action of the American Jewish Committee, the (Zionist)American Jewish Congress, headed by red Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, the pro-Red, anti-Christian B'nai B'rith and the socialist Jewish Labor Committee (of about a half million members, now financing the carrying on of Red underground work abroad).

Proskauer's fellow members of the executive committee of the American Jewish Committee include: Samuel I. Rosenman who writes F.D.R.'s speeches; Lewis L. Strauss, Kuhn Loeb & Co. partner; Frederick M. Warburg, another Kuhn Loeb & Co. partner; George Backer, executive of the Socialist-Communist American Labor Party and head of Ort Federation (affiliated with the Joint Distribution Committee), son-in-law of the Kuhn Loeb & Co. partner, Jacob Schiff, who financed the Russian Revolution, and owner of the New York Post; Maurice Wertheim, director of the red "Nation" and of the pro-Communist Freudian-filth center, the New School for Social Research, who married Alma Morgenthau, sister of Henry Morgenthau, Secy. of the Treasury; Louis E. Kirstein, vice-pres. of Wm. Filene Sons (whose late head Edw. A. Filene set aside not only a million dollars for socialist cooperative stores but set up the radical Twentieth Century Fund). Kirstein is director of F. & R. Lazarus & Co., of Columbus, signed propaganda appeals for Spanish Reds, is executive committeeman of the National Conference of Jews and Christians, sponsored by B'nai B'rith and the Federal Council of Churches, is a fellow member, with F.D.R. and Willkie, of the radical American Hebrew Medal Committee which has bemedaled such Red-aiders as LaGuardia, F.D.R., etc. Kirstein sat at the head table at the banquet at which alien-born Marxist-minded Felix Frankfurter, who has "master-minded" the Red movement through the American Civil Liberties Union, etc., for over 20 years, was presented with the Ford Hall Forum gold medal for 1939.

Proskauer is also one of the sponsoring board, along with leading Reds, of the American Guild for German Cultural Freedom, Alvin Johnson, head of the pro-Communist New School for Social Research being vice-president, and the chairman red Thomas Mann (See p.60 of my book THE ROOSEVELT RED RECORD AND ITS BACKGROUND for his Moscow-sponsored committee).

A letter bleating over the suicide of Ernst Toller, Jewish Communist and a former leader of the bloody Soviet revolution in Germany, which asked aid for the "many like him" who could carry on "just a little longer" with help, was sent out by the American Guild for German Cultural Freedom, in 1939, with Proskauer's name on it as sponsor.

The American Hebrew, 9/19/41, reported: "...The American Jewish Committee, the American Jewish Congress, the Jewish Labour Front, and the B'nai B'rith are combined in studies, although the Congress has established its separate bureau. They work in emulation, and not in conflict...American Jewry realizes that during the war - and probably for years after - it is the trustee of the destiny of our people in Palestine and of the remnant of our people in the continent of Europe."

## Gill's Booklet Ranked With B'nai B'rith's Stuff

The Jewish Sentinel which, according to its masthead, is "A Weekly Newspaper Devoted to Jewish Interests", gives its entire editorial page, 10/23/41, to rhapsodizing over Gill's booklet, "The Jew Is My Neighbor", headlining it "A MOST PRAISEWORTHY REPLY TO LINDBERGH" and urging the "widest circulation" for it, "that it may take its place alongside the compilations by the Council Against Intolerance in America" (a radical Jewish front co-chairmaned by George Gordon Battle, Earl Browder's attorney friend), "the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith and others". Copious quotations from Gill's booklet, included these maudlin lines to Lindbergh: "My friends - at least some of them - insist that I should hate the Jews. But, I don't."

Why misrepresent Lindbergh as hating the Jews or wanting anyone else to hate them because he said truthfully that, as a whole, American Jewry is, understandably, urging U.S.A. involvement in the world war, and that in this campaign "their greatest danger to this country is their large ownership and influence in our motion pictures, our press, our radio and our government".

This very Jewish Sentinel which denounces Lindbergh as "anti-Semitic" for saying the above has been unceasingly yelling for U.S.A. war involvement. While it would certainly be un-American if Lindbergh opposed any loyal American citizen because of race or creed, it is also un-American for any citizen to give greater loyalty to any foreign country or to any racial element at home or abroad than he gives to America and its whole people.

The same Jewish Sentinel, 10/9/41, in an ecstatic editorial tribute to the Red-aiding, world-wide Zionist leader, Justice Brandeis says: "It is to the everlasting credit of Justice Brandeis that he remained loyally Jewish" and Brandeis' services to the international Zionist racial cause are extolled as an "inspiring record of loyalty to his people and his people's cause".

Brandeis held that every Jew must "Organize! Organize! Organize!", must "stand up and be counted" as a separate race. But that policy makes for ill-feeling when the interests of a country in which Jews enjoy citizenship conflict with the interests of such Jewish international racial solidarity as he advocated. This unfortunate racial blindness was foretold by Scripture and makes the study of Biblical Prophecy the only clear guide to current events.

## Zionism is Marxist in Theory and Practice

Zionism, while frequently acting as a rival, is just as Marxist as Stalinism. The Zionist cooperatives in Palestine are carried on along socialist Soviet lines, as I observed in 1939, with religion of any kind largely omitted and 85% of the workers organized in the Histadrut Labor organization affiliated with the red Socialist International. As Scripture foretold, Jewry is returning to Palestine in unbelief.

From Palestine, recently, "leaders of all factions of Palestine Jewry" joined in broadcasting their praises to Moscow, according to the Jewish Examiner

(10/3/41) which stated: "Isaac Ben Zvi speaking on behalf of the Jewish National Council (of Palestine) said that 'Russian Jewry was and remained for us the cradle of Jewry's liberation'. Emphasizing that he voices the sentiments of a half million Jews, Ben Zvi stated: 'You brethren in Moscow...we follow with adoration the Russian heroic struggle..." (And so on) Ussishkin, "one of the fathers of the Zionist movement in Russia" praised Russia at length as the land of "full equality" for Jewry, where "the Jewish bent back has grown straight", etc.

The same issue of the Jewish Sentinel which editorially rhapsodizes over Gill's anti-Lindbergh pamphlet, reports (p.9): "A message of encouragement to the Jews of Soviet Russia was addressed this week by the American Jewish Congress" (ally of Proskauer's American Jewish Committee) "and the World Jewish Congress and transmitted through the Soviet Embassy in Washington".

A dear, kind, self-sacrificing patriotic woman friend of mine in New York told me how Gill, on the pretense that he needed to borrow a dollar from her (!), came to her apartment and pumped her at length concerning her anti-Red friends, associates and activities. Another patriot reported a similar experience.

## The Conference at Nashville

Will Rogers always said, "All I know is what I read in the papers" but I am glad that that is not true in regard to all I read in the papers about myself! I spoke, Oct. 9th, for a great Christian Conference held in Nashville in the tabernacle of Rev. Sam Swain, where I have spoken before, and met many fine people afterwards. Rev. Love of Birmingham, who was present while newspaper reporters, hostile to the conference, interviewed me, with a twinkle in his eye remarked next day: "I keep thinking about the way you handled those reporters. They came determined to smear and discredit you but they came up against something they did not expect and went out looking so mild I have to laugh! The reporter most opposed to you told Rev. Swain afterwards 'I certainly disagree with everything Mrs. Dilling says but I have to give her credit for being one of the most sincere persons I have ever met.'" Aside from some personal jibes and some errors, you can see by the enclosed reproduction that these boys could have done worse by me. At any rate, accustomed as I am to being flayed, anything less appears almost as flattery.

## Don't Worry - I Am Used To It!

Even in the patriotic camp, as in all others, there are always a few "kitty cats" who prefer gossiping and creating dissension to uniting in a common cause. Friends, the past week, have been writing me with kindly anguish over such imaginative bits circulated about me as: that I am "afraid" ever to go to Washington again; that I left the last time "weeping"; that I lecture for the Anglo-Saxon Federation (I have never even attended one of their meetings), etc., etc.

I have frequently heard the contradictory tales that I am a Catholic trying to disrupt the Methodist Church (when I expose a Red Methodist); that I am an anti-Catholic seeking to destroy the Catholic Church (when I expose a Red-aiding Catholic); and "Trigger" Norris, the preacher who killed an unarmed man and has been convicted recently of malicious libel, as he clipped over to England and back to do a "Willkie" for his B'nai B'rith friends, recently "placed" me in an insane asylum, in his own paper, that is.

After Norris printed the invention that my friend Dr. M. F. Ham, the great evangelist, had been maligned by me and other "Nazis" and had turned against us,

Dr. Ham to correct this 'phoned me long distance and has written two friendly letters denying that he had been maligned or had changed one iota from the stand he took in his conversation with me and in his letter which I quoted on page 5 of my "Trigger Norris" article.

Dr. Ham' letter to me, 9/29/41, closes with: "Trusting that you are still coming out victorious in your conflict against the anti-Christ..." His letter of 10/15/41 closes with: "The trick to discredit me is not new - I have had to fight it all in my entire ministry. The fact that you and I have the same convictions on this matter does not mean that either one of us is a tool of the other, or that we are tools of some alien powers, as some people would try to make it appear. Jesus had to fight the same subtle conspiracy...As far as I am concerned, there has been no change."

## Changing "Line", Not Purpose

My unswerving course in support of Christianity and Americanism for the past ten years has been to labor to seek then make facts available to patriots to enable them to detect and combat subversive "boring from within" all churches and organizations. "It is later than you think."

The many Red Marxist parties keep confusing our best people with their changes of "line". The same Norman Thomas who, as director year after year of the communist Garland Fund which issued the communist New Masses magazine, has supplied every phase of the Red movement, the same Norman Thomas who split his party by insistence on Socialist Party united front with the Communist Party (for militancy, some feared, would illegalize the Party) now has become a "Saint" to many patriots because of his current opposition to U. S. involvement in the world war. But he is a Marxist just the same.

The Communist Party, which abruptly reversed its fight-the-axis "collective security" policy as soon as the Nazi-Soviet pact was signed, as quickly reversed to warmongering when it was broken.

The desertion of Stalin's Communist Party by flocks of Jewish intellectuals, following the Nazi-Soviet pact, indicates no change of heart but merely resentment at Stalin's temporary "betrayal" of Jewry and their intention to build Marxism along "local" lines here in the U.S.A. under their own, instead of Moscow's leadership.

## Lyons Carves Up The Stalinists

It takes one Red intellectual to "artistically" carve up another Red former comrade. Eugene Lyons, Russian-born Jewish socialist, is one of the present luminaries of the Jewish-socialist "Social Democratic Federation" and a contributor to their paper, the New Leader, along with ex-Stalinist Benjamin Stolberg, Trotskyite Max Eastman, etc. I bought Lyon's book, "The Red Decade", after the Bertrand Russell lecture, in the red Rand School book store which is featuring it.

Of course, Lyons detests me and my anti-Marxist kind as much or more than he does the Stalinist rivals in the Socialist field. The article which he printed about me in American Mercury (July, 1939) by radical Milton Mayer was a frantic attempt to discredit me by ridicule. No one can accuse me, therefore, of being motivated by a desire to aid Lyons in the sale of his book by expressing the opinion that it is delightfully witty, brilliantly written and, with few exceptions, accurate. Nothing has ever amused me more. Page after page, he humorously relates what I have so laboriously catalogued, writing with a pen dipped

in the acid of ridicule and sarcasm, which must irk, no end, the Stalinist comrades he knows so well from the inside. But how few reading his knife-like expose of Stalinism would observe how carefully he shields Marxian socialism itself, as well as certain pet Marxist devotees who have now, like him, decided to shed Stalin or are workers in his own camp.

For example, in poking fun at former gin-drinking middle class Bohemians who became Stalinists, he says (p.129): "With the egocentric yowling of their species they rushed into intellectual slumming as heatedly as they had gone in for slummy intellectualism...A lot of budding and a few overripe novel writers suddenly became interested in the plain people and got all puffed up over their new virtue as though Upton Sinclair, Jack London and a lot of others had never written." (Marxist Jack London's appeal for revolution appears in my ROOSEVELT RED RECORD AND ITS BACKGROUND and if the Soviet-kissing Upton Sinclair has ever failed Moscow that is news!) On page 134, Sinclair Lewis, radical Thornton Wilder (see my books), are similarly shielded, etc.

Lyons' comments on proletarian Red Culture convulsed me as I have had to deal with so much of it. Anyone who has seen an exhibition of Red "art" must laugh at the truth in his description (p.128) of Stalinist artists "portraying in paint, words, stage characters or dance rhythms - the idealized 'workers' of their fond imaginations; tall men with immense biceps, and squat women with buttocks like mountains, robust and rough-hewn and chanting of sweat and blood, or revolution and dialectics."

## Help 100% Americans!

How it hurt to have to "blow" $3.00 to buy Lyons' book! With his Socialist connections he will sell plenty of copies. I want to give time soon to finish reading, then reviewing, the fascinating book by Dr. Bessie Burchett, a real 100% sound American Christian who has suffered martyrdom in Philadelphia and been retired from her important teaching position because of her patriotic opposition to Red influences in the schools. You cannot afford not to read her new book, her own interesting, vital, first hand experiences! It is only $1.50. She knows whereof she speaks and writes on the subject of "Education for Destruction". You should send for it and get others to do so. Her address is 5200 Warren St., Philadelphia, Pa.

Get Lyons' book from the public library but pay Dr. Burchett for hers. No Reds of any brand will help distribute her book for she shields no phase of Marxism! Therefore, she can only expect to be smeared as a "Nazi".

## Jan Valtin Not Anti-Marxist

Jan Valtin (Richard Krebs), the former Soviet O.G.P.U. agent who so luridly assails Stalinism and Naziism in his book "Out of the Night", is being featured and vociferously upheld by the Socialists of the Social Democratic Federation and the Socialist Party of Norman Thomas, in whose affairs and Conferences he participates. He is married to and has a daughter by "a Rabbi's granddaughter - Abigail Harris, whose father was Adriel Harris the son of the late Maurice H. Harris of Temple Israel." (Sentinel, 9/4/41)

## U.S. Trys Stalin's Rivals

One of the silliest things going on now is the trial by the U.S. Government of 28 Trotskyite Communists because of their Red revolutionary designs on our government, while the Stalinist Communists, their more powerful rivals with identical aims, are being feted at the White House and given taxpayers' Lend-Lease millions!

## The Russian War Relief Comedy

Perhaps you saw the full page newspaper advertisement in the New York Times (10/10/41) of the Russian War Relief Benefit to be given by Russian War Relief, Inc., 535 Fifth Ave., New York, at Madison Square Garden, Oct. 27, 1941, seat prices ranging from 28¢ to $10 each. To quote it: "Russia's men and women are revealing themselves to the world - brave, proud, stalwart!...The dollars you give in this cause are dollars given to freedom's cause. Our Government is providing all possible military supplies to the Government of Russia. The people of America will stretch out a helping hand to support the people of Russia..."

"THESE EMINENT AMERICANS ASK YOUR HELP ON BEHALF OF THE RUSSIAN PEOPLE" is the heading at the bottom of the page above a list of over 300 names. And what a pot pourri they are of Communists and "fellow travelers", Marxists of every shade and hue, radical educators, writers and churchmen, New Deal politicians, Jewish capitalists, stooges of the radio and motion picture industry, and representatives of the whole pack of Soviet-loving Socialists and "liberals", who so obediently reverse themselves on any policy whether from urging radical-pacifist disarmament of the U.S.A. to warmongering or anything else, when Moscow, the spiritual "Fatherland", pushes the button. These names include: Jay Allen, correspondent; Mischa Auer, actor; Dr. Frank Aydelotte, Princeton; Allan C. Balch, Calif. Inst. Tech.; Tallulah Bankhead, actress; Eugene E. Barnett, gen. secy. Y.M.C.A.; Alfred H. Barr, dir. Museum of Modern Art; Robert Benchley, actor; Aline Bernstein; Henri Bernstein, playwright; Chas. E. Beury, pres. Temple Univ.; Alice Stone Blackwell; Prof. Franz Boas, Columbia U.; Louis Bromfield, (Friends of Democracy); Edward E. Brown, pres. First Nat. Bank, Chgo.; Dr. Lewis Browne (ex-rabbi); Pearl S. Buck; Dean B. I. Burns, La. State U.; Dean C. Sidney Burwell, Harvard U.; Prof. Jos. P. Chamberlin, Columbia U.; Harry Chandler, pub. L. A. Times; Charles Chaplin; Michael Chekhov; Dr. Henry Sloan Coffin, Union Theo. Sem.; Dr. Frederick A. Coller, Mich. U.; Ronald Coleman, actor; Marc Connelly, playwright; Clark M. Eichelberger; Major George Fielding Eliot; John Lovejoy Elliott; Dr. Haven Emerson; Douglas Fairbanks (Ullman); Lion Feuchtwanger; Dorothy Canfield Fisher; Lewis Gannett; Norman Bel Geddes; Ira Gershwin; Morris Gest; Dean Virginia C. Gildersleeve, Barnard Coll.; Dr. Israel Goldstein; Dr. Frank P. Graham, U. of N. C.; Lillian Hellman; Maurice Hindus; Bishop H. W. Hobson, nat. chmn., Fight for Freedom Com.; B. W. Huebsch; Stanley M. Isaacs, pres. Borough Manhattan; Rufus M. Jones, Am. Friends Service Com.; Dean Hervey E. Jordan, Univ. Va.; Matthew Josephson; Geo. S. Kaufman; Dr. Foster Kennedy, Cornell U.; Sen. Robert Kenny, L. A., Calif.; Freda Kirchwey, Nation; Margaret I. Lamont (wife of Corliss) and Mrs. Thos. W. Lamont; Mr. & Mrs. Henry G. Leach; Gov. Herbert Lehman; Dr. Max Lerner, Williams Coll.; Rev. Thos. S. Logan (Epis.) of Phila.; Rev. Donald G. Lothrop, Boston; Robert Morss Lovett, Govt. Secy. Virgin Islands; Ernest Lubitsch; Prof. Robt. S. Lynd; Dr. J. A. McCallum, Phila.; Dr. John A. Mackay, Princeton Theol. Sem.; Judge Julian W. Mack; Maurice Macterlinck; Thos. Mann; Dr. Karl Menninger, Topeka; Yehudi Menuhin; Francis P. Miller, Coun. on For. Relations; Dr. Robt. A. Millikan, Calif. Inst. Tech.; Dr. Wesley Mitchell, Columbia U.; Edgar Ansel Mowrer, Chgo. Daily News; Wm. Allen Neilson, Smith Coll.; Msgr. O'Dwyer, L. A. Calif.; Bishop Edw. L. Parson (pres. of the red C.L.I.D.); Clarence Pickett, Am. Friends Service Com.; Elmer Rice; Mrs. Jacob Riis; Dr. Howard Chandler Robbins, Gen. Theol. Sem.; Col. Raymond Robins; Dr. Jos. Rosen; Chester Rowell, San F.; Dr. Florence Sabin, Rockefeller Inst.; Alex Sachs; Wm. Jay Schieffelin: Vida Scudder, Wellesley Coll.; Dr. Chas. Seymour, Pres. Yale U.; James T. Shotwell, Columbia U.; Herman Shumlin; Dr. Henry Sigerist, John Hopkins U.; Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, Cleveland; Mary M. Simkhovitch; Mrs. F. Louis Slade; Edgar Snow, writer; Vilhjalmur Stefanssen; Raymond Gram Swing; Myron G. Taylor (U.S. Steel Corp.); Edw. M. M. Warburg; Mrs. James P. Warburg; Allen Wardwell, chmn. Red Cross delgn. to Russia; Orson Welles; Dr. Henry Nelson Wie-

man, U. of Chgo. Divinity Sch.; Albert Rhys Williams; David Rhys Williams; Rabbi Stephen S. Wise; Mary E. Woolley, Mt. Holyoke Coll.; Efrem Zimbalist, and many more.

The inconsistency of these people calling butcher Stalin's cause "freedom's cause" equals the inconsistency of Eugene Lyons (in his "Red Decade") breathing only reverence for the "old Bolsheviks" including Trotsky who with Stalin gained power by slaughtering and torturing millions in the Red Russian Revolution which Lyons calls "the greatest single event in our epoch" (p.237 - ) while he flays Stalin on the same pages as the greatest monster of the centuries for "purging" thousands of his fellow "old Bolsheviks" by the same murder and torture treatment.

Reds Razz Halifax

The news report of how things got out of hand at this Russian Benefit at Madison Square Garden is droll. To quote:

"Viscount Halifax, British ambassador to the United States, stood mutely before a throng of 22,000 persons at a Russian war relief rally in Madison Square Garden tonight while Soviet sympathizers shouted: 'Open up a western front!'

"Continuing against a rising storm of taunting cries of active British military aid for the Russians, the long, lean English diplomat declared that aid from the two governments - the United States and Britain - would be forthcoming. As the hubbub increased in volume, Halifax was forced to strike out the next to the last paragraph and final sentence in his prepared speech.

"New Party Line Slogan

"'Open up a western front!' is the new party line slogan of the local communist organization and supplants the policy of 'the Yanks aren't coming!' that was the policy when the Soviet-Nazi nonaggression pact was in force several months ago.

"Party workers hawked 'Open up a western front!' buttons on the street corners around the garden, while girl vendors sold the Daily Worker, official communist newspaper, at the entrance. A big banner with the words 'Knit for Russia - register here' hung in the outer lobby.

"Inside the huge sports arena, 11 huge red flags, with the golden hammer and sickle emblazoned on them, hung from the balconies. They were threaded in between the United States stars and stripes, British Union Jack, and the flags of the nations conquered by Hitler.

"Pictures on Background - of Pink

"Suspended from the ceiling and dangling 50 feet - right over the ring where a battery of lights usually glares down on perspiring fistic gladiators - was a gigantic, four-sided, hollow 'V', the British victory symbol, with photomontage pictures of grim soldires, sailors, starving children, grief-stricken mothers, plastered on a background of pastel pink.

"There was just a hint of the coming trouble when Joseph E. Davies former ambassador to the U.S.S.R. and chairman of the President's committee on war relief agencies, started to speak. There were scattered cries of 'open up a western front!' but they subsided when a stentorian voice from the gallery yelled, 'Save it for Halifax!'

"Davies pictured Russia as 'standing in the breach, on the frontier of

civilization, fighting for us'..Russia had built up her armies and 'cleansed her house of treason' while democracies slept, Davies declared. In fact, every one had slumbered except President Roosevelt, he remarked...

"Yells Delay Halifax's Start

"When Halifax was introduced by Edward C. Carter, national chairman of Russian War Relief, Inc., he had to wait several minutes, nervously fingering his script, while the yelling demonstration went on. The cries came from the upper reaches of the galleries, from the 25¢ seats (28¢ with federal tax) while the occupants of the $10 boxes in the arena looked up and glowered.

"There was applause when the British ambassador said that never before in all history had any nation shown 'a finer spirit of resistance' than had Russia, but someone in the gallery yelled: 'You didn't show it, but we did!'...

"Quoting Abraham Lincoln's words about the Civil war dead - 'The world will little note nor long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here' - Viscount Halifax stirred up some more noise when he said that in the present situation 'what counts now is not what we say but what we do.'

"'Hurray - Western front!' shrieked a heckler and the gallery began to chant: 'Western front!'

"Viscount Halifax hurried along and wound up with a declaration that altho there had been differences in the past, in the future the British and Russian would 'march side by side.' That touched off the chant from the balconies louder than ever and the ambassador stepped off the platform.

"Others who appeared on the program included: John Green, Scottish born president of the Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers of America; George W. Thompson, British trade union representative; Genevieve Tabouis, French political journalist; Benny Goodman, 'swing king'; Paul Muni, the actor; Richard Wright, Negro author of 'Native Son'" (a Communist best-seller); "Andrei A. Gromyko, soviet charge d'affaires; Clark M. Eichelberger, national chairman of the interventionist organization, Committee to Defend America, and Dr. Frank Kingdon, British born chairman of the New York City chapter of the prowar, Fight for Freedom, Inc." (Chicago Tribune, 10/28/41)

The only way to keep out of war now, it seems, is to join the British Army.

A Hoax

In my August letter I mentioned the tears Mary and I dripped when news came that one of our five regular contributors, upon whom I have, too long, depended to pay the girls and rent, was unable to continue and we lost $25 per month.

A little later, referring to this, a very "sweet" letter of encouragement arrived, signed by "Alice Haynes Jordan" of 1045 Park Ave., New York, enclosing a cheque for $250 drawn on the Harlem branch of the Corn Exchange Trust Co. She urged me to carry on and she would send the same every three months. On the strength of it, as prices were rising, I gave the girls a little raise and almost took on needed help.

We were elated with relief and surprise until my letter of thanks and literature sent to the "lady" was returned with 17¢ postage due and marked "party

very lives in this time of peril. May God strengthen and uphold you. Keep up the fight!"

From United Mothers of Cleveland whose wonderful group I addressed enroute home from Wash., D. C.: "Mrs. Stanley has just returned from Washington. A certain Senator said 'we need a few more Dilling's down here', and we want to assure you that we will stand 100% behind you if and when you go to Washington."

From a Colorado Springs, Editor: "Your letter and bulletins received, and I have enjoyed the same very much. Never read anything better, and hope you continue the good work, though it appears that opposition to the wild orgy of spending of the warmongers is almost useless. The charges are often made that it would be impossible to get together a more dangerous gang of political crooks than are now in control of the government. Roosevelt gets whatever he wants, and his bold and frightful demands are a plentiful as the sands of the sea. The war demagogues, those willing to slaughter American young men for gold, are in full control...If the Roosevelts - husband, wife and children - Knox, Stimson, Willkie, Pepper and their kind were put on the firing line the war moves would end. Some think old Carter Glass and old George Norris should be in a private institution, instead of Congress. Perhaps senility is the trouble."

From Baltimore: "Clouds are gathering! Wish you were again in Washington. Need you! And a million more. Turning point has not come. Question still remains - when? If not soon, will be too late! Only hope then - resurrection from the ashes. May He keep us and give us strength to carry on for God and Country."

From San Diego: "We 'Westerners' here on the Pacific Coast are wondering what has happened to your facile pen for we haven't had anything from it for all too long a time."

From Babson Park, Fla.: "I wish to tell you how glad I am to get in personal touch with your work. We have had a copy of the older edition of your Red Network for years and have read it and marked it up until it is a sight."

A Warren, Ohio, lady writes from Washington: "Somehow I can feel the spirit of your dear self as you and your group so bravely fought for a Cause but I am conscious of this mighty monster and now our boys to be sent over, I cannot help crying out 'Lord where art thou?'...I have a solace in thinking and sending this line...Sincere appreciation for all literature and your effort for Country and Religion."

From Muscatine, Iowa: "Things are breaking so fast now that it is difficult to keep up with the situation. I note that Winchell and his gang still try to discredit you and everyone else who is opposed to war. His favorite anthem seems to be, Onward Christian Soldiers. We hope you will be able to continue with your work."

## How They Long To Shut Me Up!

As this bulletin is being finished a letter arrives from Wash., D. C., signed by Lawrence M. C. Smith, Chief, Special Defense Unit, Dept. of Justice, stating: "Upon receipt of this letter will you please advise the Department whether or not your organization falls within any of the types described in Section 2 (a) of the enclosed Act."

Section 2 (a) of the Voorhis Act reads as follows: "The following organizations shall be required to register with the Attorney General as hereinafter provided:

"(1) Every organization subject to foreign control which engages in political activity;
(2) Every organization which engages both in civilian military activity and in political activity;
(3) Every organization subject to foreign control which engages in civilian military activity, and
(4) Every organization, the purpose or aim of which, or one of the purposes or aims of which, is the establishment, control, conduct, seizure, or overthrow of a government or subdivision thereof by the use of force, violence, military measures, or threats of any one or more of the foregoing."

I am replying as follows:

Dear Mr. Smith:

In reply to your inquiry as to whether my "organization" falls within any of the types in Section 2 (a) of the Voorhis Act, I would say "No", unless the New Deal holds that my ten years effort to uphold the Republic and oppose Marxism and dictatorship now classifies me as the agent of the "foreign" Government-in-Exile-of-George-Washington.

While I have no "organization", in my research and writing which is purely for religious and educational purposes, I am assisted by three, sometimes more, lovely Christian women and girls. We would be glad to have you come in at any time and look us over to decide whether or not we should be registered as an army or military organization.

While we do not know how to shoot, wrestle or do Jiu Jitsu tricks, as yet, we are willing to learn whatever you care to teach us in that line; you might find the work agreeable as one of the girls is a pretty petite blonde and another a striking brunette.

Sincerely,

(Mrs. A. W.) ELIZABETH DILLING

ED:jl

A FEW CAN SAVE A NATION

Corrupt cities and nations have been saved by God if only a few persons in them showed themselves worthy of saving. "And the Lord said, If I find in Sodom fifty righteous, then I will spare all the place for their sakes." (Genesis 18:26)

And so, today, may the repentance and sincere love of God which inspired the immortal psalms of David regenerate enough Americans to save our nation.

"The fool hath said in his heart, There is no God. They are corrupt, they have done abominable works, There is none that doeth good." (Psalm 14)

"Save me, O God; for the waters are come in unto my soul. I sink in deep mire, where there is no standing: I am come into deep waters, where the floods overflow me. (Psalm 69)

"By terrible things in righteousness wilt thou answer us, O God of our salvation; who art the confidence of all the ends of the earth and of them that are afar off upon the sea:" (Psalm 65)

"Who will rise up for me against the evildoers? Or who will stand up for me against the workers of iniquity? Unless the Lord had been my help, my soul had almost dwelt in silence." (Psalm 94)

"Judge me, O God, and plead my cause against an ungodly nation: O deliver me from the deceitful and unjust man." (Psalm 43)

"The Lord bringeth the counsel of the heathen to nought: he maketh the devices of the people of none effect." (Psalm 33)

"I will say of the Lord, He is my refuge and my fortress: my God; in him will I trust...He shall cover thee with his feathers, and under his wings shall thou trust: his truth shall be thy shield and buckler...For he shall give his angels charge over thee, to keep thee in all thy ways." (Psalm 91)

"Blessed is he whose transgression is forgiven, whose sin is covered." (Psalm 32)

"Like as a father pitieth his children, so the Lord pitieth them that fear him. For he knoweth our frame; he remembereth that we are dust." (Psalm 103)

"Say among the heathen that the Lord reigneth;...he cometh to judge the earth: he shall judge the world with righteousness, and the people with his truth." (Psalm 96)

"For he is our God; and we are the people of his pasture, and the sheep of his hand. To day if ye will hear his voice, harden not your heart." (Psalm 95)

BY THE GRACE OF GOD AND YOUR HELP NEITHER MY OFFICE NOR OUR CAUSE SHALL FOLD UP!

Sincerely,

(Mrs. A. W.) ELIZABETH DILLING

ED:jl

# Tabernacle Speaker Says New Deal Rule Worse Than Nazis'

## Education, Government, Newspapers, Etc., Etc., Flayed by Mrs. Dilling, 'Red Network' Author

There is more dictatorship in the United States under the administration of the New Deal than there is in Nazi Germany, Mrs. Elizabeth Dilling of Chicago said last night after addressing a packed house at the Dixie Tabernacle on Fatherland Street.

Mrs. Dilling, fiery speaking redhead who is an outspoken critic of alleged U. S. Communists and author of "Red Network," made the charge of a dictatorship worse than Germany's in an interview. Earlier in her speech she had said that a Communist sits in "every key spot of the government."

Upon being questioned about her dictatorship statement, Mrs. Dilling said that it did not mean she was pro-Nazi.

"No, don't misquote me. I do not want a Nazi rule here," she insisted, "but I'm telling you that we have a dictatorship that regiments much more closely than Germany.

"If it were a choice of the lesser of two evils, I'd take the Nazi rather than Red Russia, though," she declared. During the interview she declared that Walter Winchell, who has accused her of Nazi leanings, was "a liar."

An isolationist who bitterly and outspokenly fought conscription and the Land-Lease Bill, Mrs. Dilling was asked how she condoned following Senators Nye and Wheeler after having branded them as *Reds*.

"I can't help it if radicals agree with me on some things," she shot back.

"Call me an isolationist if you must, I am saying that we have got to stay out of Europe."

Her closing remark in the speech was that "soon there will be confiscatory taxation in this country, there will be rioting. We must pull this country out and make a Christian nation of it. You aren't getting the truth, the press is controlled. But we will win this fight without losing a million lives."

Mrs. Dilling's speech was marked by gestures and mimicking sarcasm.

**RELIES ON BOOK**

Her verbal bolts at Communism were taken mainly from her book, "Red Network," and followed the course of a lecture she made in Nashville more than two years ago.

She deviated from her anti-Red harangue long enough to make severe charges of moral laxity at the University of Wisconsin where "the hospitals are full of girls who are in trouble."

The charge against the university, she said, was based on a report she got from her son after he visited his sweetheart at the school.

"But he told me things that aren't fit to print about what's going on at that school.

"You would be amazed at what is going on in colleges—your own Southern schools are full of it—they are polluted messes and for every child converted in your church, you have a thousand being rid of their faith in the colleges. They are ful lof atheism, Marxism and *free love*," she shouted.

**ASSIGNS CAUSE**

This condition, she said, was due to "progressive education" being taught by such men as John Dewey and Bertrand Russell.

"Education is wallowing in the mire," she said before returning to her vitriolic tirade against Communism.

She charged that the Labor Temple of New York was one of the "hotbeds" of Red activity and that the Y. W. C. A. was one of the great forces in the country for furthering Communism. Mrs. Dilling exhibited a Soviet newspaper which she said had half a page praising the joint program for Communism of the Y. M. C. A. and Y. W. C. A.

what I did and did not say!

# Author Labels Administration 'Communistic'

After blasting critical remarks at modern education in large American universities, Mrs. Elizabeth Dilling, author of the "Red Network," told several hundred persons at the Dixie Tabernacle last night that, "the Roosevelt administration has done more for Communists than any other administration in the history of this country."

The speaker said that Reds are infesting American institutions of higher learning and that many of the best known educators are teaching Communism to the present generation. She added that, "there is plenty of it here in the South."

"Everybody knows just how lousy this Tennessee Highlander Folk School (at Monteagle) is," she said, "for it is filled with members of the Communist Party."

As she kept her audience on edge with her sarcasm and mimicking of instructors in large American colleges who preach Communism, the speaker said, that "dark days have got to come to this country if we don't follow the teachings of the Bible." Following this she made her attack on the New Deal.

"Why there is bitter poverty within sight of the White House. Conditions are terrible in Washington and the administration continues to aid the Communists. Why you can't do much about it for this crowd in Washington. If you do anything against the New Deal, they'll crack down on you."

The speaker charged that Red organizers or their representatives "are in every key workshop of the Government," and then paid her respects to honest ministers who are misled by Red leaders.

"I'm against some of the preachers running around with these Communists and atheists sticking their necks out when these birds (Reds) would gladly cut their throats," she said.

Bitter attacks were also made on John Dewey of Columbia University and Bertrand Russell, of New York, both of whom Mrs. Dilling branded as "disciples of Communism."

"You would be amazed at some of the things that's going on in some of the college where Communist instructors are preaching the Red doctrines," she said. "My who *thinks he* is engaged to a l girl up at Wisconsin Univer has told me some things that going *on* in these colleges wouldn't be fit to print."

The speaker said that immor was running rampant in many the larger universities and t was nothing uncommon *for* dents to stay out all night, ing and visiting honky-tonks.

"These progressive educatio cators are preaching free lov no family life. Many of th lege hospitals are filled with in trouble. I know what I'm ing about and nothing that I ever said or written about *conditions* has been refuted," said.

Mrs. Dilling compared A to Sodom and Gomorrah wh flayed the American method ing Russia in the present wa Germany. "America is goi way of Sodom and Gom France, rotten as it was, f any nation that gets away the Bible and follows the C nist gang will do the same. on is not too far from this thing, especially when we a ing billions out to aid R sia."

The speaker said she was dictatorships of all kinds h

is plenty of it being practic here in the United States. I that Walter Winchell, th commentator who has been of Nazism, "has lied ab about me and I have call and told him so."

Mrs. Dilling said she l branded as an isolationis she is against the Bu and because she forgo lease bill.

# Woman Flays New Deal in Talk Here



—Staff Photo by Campbell Bligh

Mrs. Elizabeth Dilling pictured speaking at the Dixie Tabernacle on Fatherland Street last night, where she charged that America is more regimented than Hitler's Germany today.

THE NASHVILLE BANNER, FRIDAY, OCTOBER 10, 1941

SEASON'S GREETINGS



THE DILLINGS

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P A T R I O T I C  R E S E A R C H  B U R E A U
For the Defense of Christianity and Americanism
DIRECTOR, ELIZABETH DILLING
Suite 733 - 53 W. Jackson Blvd.
CHICAGO

Christmas Round Table Letter, 1940

Dear Friends:

I cannot, with sincerity, wish you a Merry Christmas, nor, except as a prayer, echo the Angel chorus of old with "Peace on earth, good will towards men!" in a world in which there is no peace at home or abroad. We are told in Scripture of the hypocrits who cry "peace! peace! when there is no peace", and that "Where there is no vision, the people perish".

My sincerest prayer is that you, who have vision and knowledge of America's critical state, may "gird on the whole armour of righteousness" and, before it is too late, "bring light to them that sit in darkness and in the shadow of death".

Rather than carefree merriment we need, this Christmas season, to dedicate ourselves anew to the Divine Saviour, the Light of the world, whose birth we celebrate and whose teachings inspired our Constitution, form of government, and Christian schools and colleges now tottering under anti-Christian Marxism, while planned war dictatorship impends, ready to knock American liberty out of existence the first time, as proposed, that an American convoy is deliberately sent across mined European war areas for that purpose. Then through "emergency decrees" or the smears of the enemy, your mouth and mine will be nailed shut! I would ask, this Christmas, that He:

"Wake in our breast the living fires
The holy faith that warmed our sires,
Thy hand hath made this nation free,
Serving her is serving Thee!"

With 80,000,000 out of over 130,000,000 Americans listed by the Year Book of the Churches as belonging to no church, Christian spiritaul awakening is needed if Marxism and its Red Modernism is to be defeated. If ever Bible prophecies were fulfilled and the Book being proven, it is today.

## At Denver

I just returned from Denver where I addressed, December 9th, a great Prayer and Prophecy Conference sponsored by some twenty nine sound anti-Marxist ministers. It was held in Rev. Harvey Springer's tabernacle which holds about 2400. It was crowded and people stood at the back. Long after I had finished, autographed so many Bibles my right had was going on strike, had spoken personally with over 100 people who gave me their names and addresses asking to be placed on my mailing list (I must find the postage!), still people were standing in groups, stirred and talking.

"Look at them! They won't go home", remarked dynamic Rev. Springer. I only hope it is true that, as one minister put it, "You have dropped a thunderbolt here!" One woman said, "I never really knew what Communism was before. I never heard so much in my life as I have

tonight". "There!", I remarked to an informed minister friend standing by, "Her kind are the hope of the nation! If everyone knew what you and I know and still refused to do anything the fight would be hopeless, but the man-in-the-street really does not know, and there seems no way to let him know through the general controlled press and radio". As Rev. Springer remarked from the platform, even an interested minister like himself lacks the time for laborious research like mine.

I had two memorable meals at the hospitable Springer home, and being the only woman seated at a long table full of ministers felt guilty to let dainty little Mrs. Springer and her girl helpers wait on me instead of my helping them.

"Termites" is an excellent new pamphlet written with a pen dipped in blood by Rev. Springer (25¢, obtainable from him, Englewood, Colo.).

## The "Common" People

Truth has a power all its own. Nineteen hundred years ago "the common people heard Him gladly". Today I find it is the "common" people who hear truth gladly while the rich strive to remain undisturbed, unless they can rush for a war contract or make the social headlines.

A dear little old man in a well-worn coat, who came up on the platform at Denver, insisted on giving me a dollar bill to use for the work. I felt so touched at his spirit of self-sacrifice, with his own evident need, that I tried to hand it back to him saying, "Can you really afford this?" But he insisted. Of that spirit was pioneer America built! God bless him and his kind!

I recently heard from one of America's great billionaires who has used my data and received special reports from me for years. Brilliant in his own business, he is smug with worldly power, surrounded by kow-towing "Yes" men. I was surprised that he had missed, so he wrote, getting my irritating releases in recent months. I had decided to cease disturbing him with them. He had repeatedly written protesting that, while he found my data and factual material valuable and accurate, the language I use in my books, articles and letters is "too violent". (Of course, he would not sacrifice a discarded razor blade to keep my work going, any more than any other millionaire!)

## We Have'nt Time

That attitude reminds me of the Victorian father who sternly reproved his small son for exclaiming and gave him orders, no matter what the circumstances might be, to always first weigh his words carefully then slowly count ten before speaking. The boy came into the living room one day where his father was warming his back to the open fire and seeing that his coat tails were on fire started to warn him but his father sternly stopped him saying, "Count ten slowly before you speak". So the boy had to say, "One-two-three-four-five-six-seven-eight-nine-ten-Father, your coat tails are on fire!"

We cannot wait for the plutes to awaken. In every nation they awaken too late. Jesus Christ said it was harder for a rich man, trusting in his own material power, to see and hear the spiritual truths necessary to enter the Kingdom of Heaven than for a camel to go through the eye of a needle.

## At the Office

I have only four girls for office work. One is kept busy typing on correspondence, stencils, etc., another, the little "Bruiser", on filing and indexing press clippings, mimeographing, wrapping literature, etc., another doing special listing that would take forever to catch up with, the fourth, with general filing, etc., to do, cannot possibly do the reading, marking and card-indexing of the tons of radical literature necessary to keep the records going and documented knowledge of changing movements available. I need at least five more girls. If I ever get them I believe they will have to be paid by the sacrifices of a large number of poor people to whom a dollar bill is more difficult to spare than $5000.00 would be to many.

We had to have steel cabinets, ten extra shelves, and two huge bookcases to the ceiling that cost, on special sale and secondhand, over $175. Last month the paper and supply bill alone was $93.60, plus ink, etc., rent and light - $77.50. An addressograph, with an allowance for an old useless donated one, cost with stencils over $100. It will save endless labor. The only thing in the office that costs nothing are my donated services. But, of course, many think "nothing" is more than I'm worth at that!

## Our Peril

To quote the Chicago Tribune (12/13/40) report of the speech of Mr. James S. Kemper: "Should the United States enter the war, he warned, some 'closely regulated socialistic system' would be fastened onto the country permanently!", and he called "interventionist groups 'our greatest peril!'".

Feeling that the time might be very short under the Third Term in which we may speak or act freely in any way to preserve American freedom, I took a flier last month and bought and distributed copies of the excerpts from Lord Lothian's own speeches revealing the European power politics and incessant injustices on all sides which caused George Washington to sagely warn the U.S. to stay out of entangling alliances with any European power.

Although I had some disagreeable financial dealings with the publishing company, which my lawyer husband finally straightened out, the response to the book was marvelous. Mrs. Campbell, a dear Christian woman, brought volunteers to help stamp and address. Lettersof appreciation came in from coast to coast. Contributions almost met the cost of distribution and put hope in my heart.

## Read Scribner's Commentator

After marveling at the November issue of Scribner's "Commentator", I intended to start this letter off with the plea: "Run, don't walk to the nearest news stand and buy a copy!" But when I went to buy some extra copies myself, I found none left. I was amazed that anything so good could be on public sale, knowing the way Left Wingers have taken over America's "leading" magazines.

Night before last, my capable, crusading friend, Catherine Curtis of Women Investors, Inc., 'phoning from New York for some data, said she had word from inside Washington that within the coming month F.D.R.

would attempt in some way to get more emergency dictatorial power for himself. She is evidently right. On the radio, driving down to the office this morning, a news commentator reported that Roosevelt is hurrying to meet Cordell Hull to discuss declaring a U.S.A. "full emergency, which would place all industry under government control". The commentator added that, of course, this would be just for "psychological effect" to speed up the "defense" program. (O, yeah!)

I am taking another gamble and have sent for a thousand copies of the November issue of Scribner's "Commentator". We will have to buy envelopes, stamp and address them. I hope anyone receiving a copy who can afford to pay for it (or to add anything extra for those who cannot) will do so and thus aid in getting out such needed facts. If you have already read this issue, put your copy to work by passing it on. If not, sit down and read Sen. Holt's article, also "Seat at the Cinema" about such Communist films as "Pastor H all" in which Mrs. F.D.R. "prologues". Pastor Hall was written by Communist Ernst Toller, leader of the bloody Bavarian Soviet in 1919 and imprisoned, 1919-25, by the German republic, and honored as one of the 120 leading Jews of the world by votes of world Jewry in 1937, and active in Communism until he committed suicide in the U.S.A. last year. Read, also, "Japan Our Commercial Prize", also "America in a Hostile World" and "British Propaganda - 1940 Version".

## Propaganda in the Next War

I brought from England, in 1939, that amazing, daring book which revealingly, brilliantly analyzes the propaganda methods used to get the U.S.A. into the first World War and the methods to be used to get us into the next one. These are now in action! It is called "Propaganda in the N ext War", by Sidney Rogerson, edited by Liddell Hart, well-known military correspondent of the London Times. My copy is all marked up. I value it as I do my two front teeth and have refused to even loan it to anyone because, while it has been quoted in the Congressional Record, I thought copies were unavailable in America. Now I hear, by chance, from Mr. Seward Collins, who operates, probably, the only Right Wing book shop in New York (231 W. 58th St.). He says he has 30 copies ($1.75 each) but does not know whether they are still in print in England or could be brought here now if they were. I hope you are lucky enough to get one of his thirty copies.

He says: "It was Boake Carter who discovered the Rogerson book and devoted a column to it on New Year's day last year. The quotations were so magnificent that I feared it would be suppressed the moment word got back to London how Carter handled it, so I spent hours and a young fortune trying to telephone Carter or his home or his secretary, that holiday, to learn the name of the publisher. I finally located one of them and got a cable off for some copies..."

"I am delighted that you think as I do that the Rogerson book can do good in keeping our country out of the war. Everybody in the country should be made to read Chapter Four of that book. It was an awful indiscretion on Rogerson's part - and also the editor of the series Liddell Hart - but a great blessing to us". Mr. Collins adds that he believes no American firm would re-publish this book and tells why!

## In England Now

An idea of English conditions and what we may expect under war measures can be gained by reading the long-established, anti-Red, weekly "Patriot" of London whose splendid editor, Mr. McDermott, I know personally. (The "Patriot's" address is 10 Essex St., W.C. 2, London, England; yearly price 15 shillings. A foreign Money Order for 15 shillings costs $3.04 at any Post Office at present exchange rates.)

The 10/31/40 issue cautiously reports Parliament's revolutionary act in voting itself power for another year without elections by the people and, under the title "The Hoax of Democracy" says: "Hardly ever does any Minister, though Mr. Bevin is easily one of the worst offenders, make a speech here without stating that this country in its Constitution is a Democracy when everyone knows that in reality we have a Constitutional Monarchy. Presumably it is supposed to be pleasing to the working classes to tell them that they form a Democracy, and if it is more especially a Socialist misstatement it is one that Conservatives never take the trouble to correct, and they do not recognize that it is a hoax. This same hoax of democracy is employed in the U.S.A. both by Republican and Democratic politicians..."

Our U.S.A. form of government is a Republic not a democracy, the difference being between government by checked and balanced Constitutional law and representatives, or government by direct "mobocracy" which, historically, has always been the forerunner of chaos and dictatorship. The "Patriot" in the same issue (p.411) points out: "When we have only 24 per cent of the electorate going to the poll, as was the case in Central Southwark at the beginning of the year, there is a clear indication of the voters' loss of faith in Parliament as constituted in those days..."

A letter appears in the same issue carefully protesting that denial of petitions for Writs of Habeas Corpus under the 1939 Emergency Powers (such as F.D.R. wants) to Admiral Sir Barry Domville and "in the latest case of Mr. George H. Stock, Liverpool solicitor...not to say clandestine imprisonment" as "contrary to law".

## Will England Be Socialized?

The 11/21/40 issue points out that "If there is anything valid in the argument that we are a democracy and that in any real sense of the words we 'govern ourselves'" then the present suppression of comment is a disservice to the nation in preventing all exposure of war blunders. For "as never before in our recent history Parliament has been reduced to a mere dummy and is no longer in any sense representative, whilst the Press, for the most part, has ceased to function as an expression of independent views" and, concerning the Socialist Cabinet Ministers Herbert Morrison and Mr. Bevin, "there is an uneasy suspicion that... they are almost as eager to usher in the Socialist revolution, which they hope to be imminent, as to win the war. They make no disguise of the fact, and one cannot help admiring their candour, just as one regards with anything but admiration the dumb-dog attitude of the great Conservative Majority, which with scarcely a word of protest or dissent, allows them to prepare their revolutionary program".

While invitation to delegates to the Communist Party convention to be held in Manchester January 12, 1941, are being sent to 25,000 organizations, as reported in the same issue, meantime British Christian patriots, world war heroes like Capt. Ramsay, Conservative Member of Parliament, whom I heard speak in England with magnificent soundness and patriotism, who have attempted to protest alien Jewish control of the British press and war contracts, remain in jail as "anti-Semitics" without formal charges, trials, Habeas Corpus or "democratic" rights of any kind.

## "Union Now"

Hore-Belisha, Jewish, Algerian-born Cabinet power, as spokesman for England, is joined by our eager American profiteers and itching Marxists in loudly urging "Union Now" and a joint U.S. and English citizenship, they being enthused with the idea of uniting in war efforts and permanent control our Marxist-run New Deal regime with one of the same sort running England, with all dissenting mouths firmly clamped shut for "national defense".

Were the Marxists to be thrown out of the saddle in England, the tune of the American pro-British press would change to hostility as quickly as it did toward France when the French Vichy government started cleaning out its Marxists and alien "refujews" from key positions.

Not only were the New Deal "works" put on Ambassadors Cudahy and Kennedy when they spilled some revealing truths, but the powers of Hell more and more are going to be turned loose on anyone who dares try to awaken the American public, before it is too late, with actual anti-Marxist facts. They will be smeared as Fifth Columnists and Nazis, pictured as writing to Hitler weekly, framed in any way possible, and imprisoned.

## Who Really Controls the Catholic Pulpit?

Father Coughlin made the fatal "mistake" of exposing irrefutable facts on Kuhn Loeb and Company aid to the Russian Revolution and of asking religious Jews to join him in opposing the subversive activities of Reds and of atheistic radical Jews. (The latter, themselves, claim a million members organized in just two Red Marxist groups in the U.S.A., the Jewish Labor Committee, Socialist, and the Jewish People's Committee, Communist.)

So, I was told by an authentic Detroit source, recently, Father Coughlin not only is barred from the radio but forbidden to write a line for his paper "Social Justice", to preach a sermon in his own church or to talk to any group except the babies on threat of excommunication. Thus hamstrung, he is to take an indefinite leave of absence in January to go into the muzzled silence which was threatened him by pro-Red anti-Christian B'nai B'rith and by, so my informant said, Elisha Walker, partner in Kuhn Loeb and Company, when he visited Father Coughlin in his home and warned him that Kuhn Loeb and Company had loaned money not only to Archbishop Mooney (Father Coughlin's superior) but to the Pope!

## Truth on the Scaffold! Wrong on the Throne!

Special magazines and pamphlets such as Friday's "Unbelievable",

"Treason Incorporated", etc., are being issued by Reds to smear every anti-Communist as a Hitlerite despite all evidence to the contrary. The time is ripe for Christian defense forces to organize legal aid to force these filthy sheets to retract their lies or take the legal consequences. Even dishonest methods are used to secure names of reputable people as supposed sponsors of these publications. One of the nation's great patriots, Mrs. Grace Brosseau, was horrified when I wrote her that her name was included in the "Wake Up America Committee" which issued "Treason Incorporated". She replied:

"Dear Mrs. Dilling:

"I am always glad to see your signature to any missive and so was glad to get your letter this morning but I nearly had heart failure as I read down the page for I don't know one blessed thing about any booklet called 'Treason Incorporated' or that my name is in any way attached thereto."

She explains how a former patriotic local committee she was on had disbanded and was told that Wythe Williams had arranged in a trip to Washington (to B'nai B'rith headquarters?) to have its work taken over and financed by some "proper government officials".

Mrs. Brosseau continues: "If some group has taken over the work and continued my name on the committee I know nothing about it...I have never seen or heard of the booklet to which you refer. Of course, you and some of the other fighters have been on the pan for so long and those of us who are in sympathy with your work have always had the one stock answer - 'Prove that they are wrong,' which has never been done. I heard Dorothy Thompson in a public lecture denounce you all as Nazi agents who received your instructions direct from Hitler!! That sort of thing I just laugh off for the more you do the worse the Reds and the Pinks hate you, which to my mind simply proves your effectiveness. So long as they refrain from taking you for a ride and dumping you in the lake I don't worry one bit what they say about you personally.

"Goodness knows, there was a time when I got mine but now I make the Daily Worker only about once a year which I don't feel is very complimentary! Evidently I am no longer regarded as harmful, and that rather hurts my pride!

"...I will try to get hold of one of those booklets and see what it is all about and when I get the facts will see that my name is removed from the rolo of any reconstructed organization, which I suspect this is.

"Always sincerely yours,
(Signed) Grace L. H. Brosseau"

The "Wake Up America Committee" listed in "Treason Incorporated" are a choice bunch which include Upton Close and Hendrik W. Van Loon of THE RED NETWORK, radical Raymond Gram Swing, W. L. White, son of Wm. Allen White of THE RED NETWORK, Emil Lengyel, active Red Hungarian "refujew", Eugene Lyons, Socialist Russian-born Jew, and numerous other Jews like Gabriel Heatter who look for Hitler on every Clipper plane to take over New York single handed, plus, possibly, some like Mrs. Brosseau who are unconscious of being listed as members and sponsors of libelous lies and rot.

## Oklahoma City

I was delighted to get a letter from Oklahoma City authorities who, like police departments from coast to coast, use my books, and to whom I had sent some data, saying that they won their Criminal Syndicalism trial against the Communist Party organizers for whose defense Mrs. Roosevelt had sent a check for $25.00! This is a real victory and a precedent to hearten patriots of the entire country! It must have been a tough victory to win for Democratic officials in a Democratic community forewarned publicly that the Roosevelt regime was on the Red side. Hats off to them!

I spoke two nights, November 20 and 21, in the Oklahoma City Shrine Auditorium, for my friend Rev. Harry Clarke of Sioux City, Iowa, who was conducting services there, and met a number of the splendid citizens and authorities who attended both nights. More than 70 people asked to be placed on my mailing list there and I have since received a fine letter from a group planning to really study the subject of the "cancer" in America's body politic.

## New Communist School

Dean E. N. Comfort ("comfort" to the Reds) of the School of Religion (!) of the University of Oklahoma has been making, as the Communist Party's Daily Worker, 4/23/40, put it, "vigorous defense of civil liberties for the Communists". Active also in their defense has been "Rev." Paul S. Wright, Oklahoma City Presbyterian minister, and "Rev." John Thompson of the First Presbyterian Church of Norman, Okla.

I have before me the announcement of the opening, October 21, 1940, at Mena, Arkansas, of a Southern New Theatre School, by the communist New Theatre League, the American section of Moscow's International Union of the Revolutionary Theatre (See p.162 of my book, THE ROOSEVELT RED RECORD AND ITS BACKGROUND). It states that its revolutionary plays put on "in every part of the country" reach "over one million people annually. New Theatre Schools, reaching over five hundred students every year, in Chicago, Cleveland, Philadelphia, and New York, train leaders for these and other community theatres. New Theatre League also operates the only publishing agency for progressive social plays in America; it has discovered, sponsored, and distributed the following important dramas: Waiting For Lefty by Clifford Odets; Bury The Dead by Irwin Shaw; Private Hicks, Black Pit and Rehearsal by Albert Maltz; Cradle Will Rock by Marc Blitzstein; Don't you Want To Be Free by Langston Hughes; Plant In The Sun by Ben Bengal; Day In The Life Of A Secretary by Kleinsinger and Hayes."

The list of sponsors of the communist New Theatre League and Southern New Theatre School on this leaflet includes the names of leading Communist agitators and writers of lewd blasphemous literature, also Rev. John Thompson, mentioned above, and two other "Reverends", Einar Oftedahl and Owen Whitfield, Orson Welles and the filthy-minded Negro Communist, Langston Hughes, etc.

One doughty local Justice, Clem Brown, finally "hooked" the little communistic Commonwealth College at Mena, Arkansas (see my books), on an anarchy charge and for displaying the Communist Soviet Russian hammer and sickle, fining them $2500. Now its affiliate,

Highlander Folk School at Mounteagle, Tennessee (See my ROOSEVELT RED RECORD AND ITS BACKGROUND), is also, at last, meeting with some patriotic opposition. William B. Spofford, Earl Browder's fellow-officer of the Communist Party's treasonable American League Against War and Fascism (See my books), complains of this opposition to Highlander Folk School in the Episcopalian weekly "Witness", 12/5/40, but, to quote, says hopefully "this Friday evening, December 6th, in Washington, a large number of people are gathering to give their support to Highlander. Among them will be Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, Mrs. Cordell Hull, Secretary and Mrs. Harold Ickes, Mrs. Francis Biddle, Mr. Archibald MacLeish and Mr. and Mrs. Gifford Pinchot. Both Horton and Dombrowski" (of Highlander) "will be on hand - will be, that is, unless the Grundy County Crusaders prevent it."

Wherever Red treason raises its head the Roosevelt crew are on hand to boost it! Archibald MacLeish is Roosevelt's Red appointee as Librarian of Congress. Records on the others are in my books.

E. A. Ross (See my RED NETWORK) as national representative of the Communist-aiding American Civil Liberties Union has been on the job in Oklahoma aiding the imprisoned Communists (Daily Oklahoman, 11/16/40) also the Red "Rev." (meaning Revolutionist?) Owen Knox, of the Detroit branch, who spends his time fighting for Communists there. His paper is sold at the Communist Party's book stores.

Mothers of the U.S.A.

I wish you could meet two sound, smart, crusading Detroit women who literally made the knees of the above "Rev." Knox knock before the crowded Detroit City Council with their plucky opposition to his activities. They are Mrs. Rosa Farber, a deceptively cool, mild appearing, blue-eyed blonde, and zippy, brown-eyed little Mrs. Beatrice Knowles. (Mrs. Knowles' husband reminds me of my own. He is so actively interested and whole-hearted in aiding their efforts.) I recently spent some delightful hours with these ladies. They organized the Mothers of the United States of America (535 Book Bldg., Detroit), the ones, you remember, who hung in effigy in Washington last summer the loud-mouthed, war-mongering Claude Pepper, darling of anti-Christian, pro-Red B'nai B'rith under whose auspices Pepper spoke in Chicago.

They have protested their children's rotten Red sex books in the Detroit schools. They hold meetings of 300 or more weekly. They are not only sound in purpose but soundly informed, not sound asleep like most Americans. I am for them 100% and I hope you can cooperate with them and send for their literature at the above address. I am ready to help them anywhere, any time. There are other "Mothers" anti-war outfits infiltrated with subversives. Theirs is not.

They brought out and showed me a copy of the "Chicago American" dated Nov. 11, 1918, the day the Armistice was signed. The very top headline read, "RED FLAG OVER KAISER'S PALACE". Below that is the headline, "FIGHTING HAS STOPPED", and below that, the headline, EVERYTHING FOR WHICH AMERICA FOUGHT HAS BEEN ACCOMPLISHED - PRESIDENT WILSON."

When we fought to make the world safe for Democracy (in its present sense used to mean Communism), the first fruit of our efforts

was the hoisting of the Red flag over the Kaiser's palace. What will it be next time?

## Winston Churchill

Before Winston Churchill embarked on his present efforts to drag us into this world war, he said, as quoted in the Congressional Record 6/19/39: "America's entrance into the" (world) "war was disastrous not only for your country" (United States) "but for the Allies as well, because had you stayed at home and minded your own business we would have made peace with the Central Powers in the spring of 1917, and then there would have been no collapse in Russia, followed by Communism; no break-down in Italy, followed by Fascism; and Naziism would not at present be enthroned in Germany. If America had stayed out of the war and minded her own business, none of these 'Isms' would today be sweeping the continent of Europe and breaking down parliamentary government."

Think that over!

Letters pour in here showing that many people realize that the debt and dictatorship involved in our entering the war may end our American form of government forever. However, one has to be wary about joining organizations.

## "Peace" Organizations

Active now, for example, are: the Communist's Peace Mobilization outfit, the Socialist's Keep America Out of War committees, the "speckled" America First Committee, and the, I believe, perfectly sound Citizens Keep America Out of War Committee, 77 West Washington Street, Chicago, William J. Grace, chairman. This last committee my husband has joined. All that I know of it is good. Its principles could not be improved and I see not a subversive on their committee.

## America First Committee

Undoubtedly, many fine people have joined the America First Committee because of its laudable opposition to William Allen White's "America Second" war-mongering "Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies". For twenty years White's idea of defending America has been to nurse the scorpion Reds in her bosom. He boasted in the New Republic, 9/21/38, that he had always joined any organization looking toward closer relations with Russia. He headed the Communist-aiding American Civil Liberties Union conference held in New York City, 10/13-14/39, at which Earl Browder was a speaker. This scarlet conference was sponsored by several Republican politicians who know better but are willing to kiss any Red foot who might give them power, such as Thomas E. Dewey of New York.

## Its Rosenwald Connections

Heading the "speckled" America First Committee is Gen. Robert E. Wood, general manager for Rosenwald's Sears Roebuck and Company and trustee of the Rosenwald Fund of which the chairman is Lessing J. Rosenwald (supporter of radical Survey Associates and national committeeman of the America First committee), and the president of the Rosenwald Fund is Edwin R. Embree, one of the committee (see the facsimile, p.174, THE RED NETWORK) that set up the treasonable American League Against War and Fascism, later called the American League for Peace and Democracy until recently driven under cover by publicity.

The indefatigable Red-aider Mrs. Roosevelt ... a trustee this year of the Rosenwald Fund. While Lessing Rosenwald remains the Fund's chairman year after year and radical Edwin R. Embree its president, the trustees, colored and white, always include as pretty a bunch of Red-aiders as one could find.

Glancing down the list one sees Pres. Robert M. Hutchins and Charles H. Judd of the Univ. of Chicago and Howard W. Odum of the Univ. of North Carolina, all sponsors (1935) of the Moscow State summer school set up in Russia to teach American students Communism, with atheism scheduled as the first course of the day in their catalogue; radical Alfred K. Stern, formerly married to Marian Rosenwald and now to Martha Dodd who is active in the Communist movement; Charles S. Johnson, active Negro radical; self-avowed Socialist W. W. Alexander; M. O. Bousfield, Negro medical director of the Rosenwald Fund, endorser of the Communist Party's National Negro Congress and board member of the Communist-aiding American Civil Liberties Union, Chicago branch, 1940, etc., etc.

Some America First National Committeemen

To return to the "speckled" national committee of the America First Committee, headed by Rosenwald's Robert E. Wood, one sees the names of Henry Ford, certainly a 100% American, also Hanford McNider, active Legionnaire, whom I have met and consider 100% also, and there are probably others like them, unknown to me, also on the national committee; then there is Gen. Hugh S. Johnson whom one can scarcely classify since he is a "humdinger" on the "Right" side Monday and working with "Left" groups, plenty of them, Tuesday.

Then there is Kathryn Lewis, daughter of and executive assistant to John L. Lewis, who is still a "fellow traveler" of the Communist Party line, as the Communist current press reveals, despite his fine American-sounding speech for Willkie, which I heard. Kathryn Lewis' photo seated between two Negro heads of the Communist Party's National Negro Congress at a dinner to honor them appears in the Daily Worker, 3/19/40; her defense of Spanish Reds appears in the Daily Worker, 3/22/40, etc., etc.

Another is John T. Flynn, past and present long-time Marxist despite the excellent flings he took at "Comrade" Roosevelt in his recent book. He is (1940) contributing editor of the revolutionary socialist "New Republic", classified by radical Benjamin Stolberg as "a Stalinoid weekly". As member of the administrative committee of the City College of New York, he stated that he voted for the appointment of the atheist, Red peddler of sex-filth, Bertrand Russell, and his praises of Russell appear in the New York Times, 3/1/40. He is sponsor of the American Association for Economic Freedom, headed by William Allen White and composed of the nation's leading Marxists, with a program calling for socialization of the U.S.A. and complete State control of every individual and article produced through a State licensing system. Flynn's radical activities could fill a book.

Another, Anton J. Carlson (listed in THE RED NETWORK) of the Univ. of Chicago, has a Red record a mile long. He was sponsor of the Communist Party's "Browder for President" club of the Univ. of Chicago (Daily Worker, 10/13/36); member of the medical advisory board of the Communist Party-backed Consumers Union (Daily Worker, 6/8/39); of course he has been active in support of Red Spain; sponsor of the communist American

Student Union; serves on the Chicago committee of the American Civil Liberties Union; spoke for the Communist Party's Jewish Peoples Committee (Communist Party's Daily Record,12/3/38) which claims a half million members in the U.S.A.; spoke in defense of the Communist Party's Chicago Workers School; backed the American Civil Liberties Union inter-racial concert featuring four Negroes at Rockefeller's International House at the Univ. of Chicago (inter-racial mixing is a Communist fetish used for revolutionary purposes); he is a national committeeman of Red Leon Birkhead's Friends of Democracy, 1940; he is Chicago sponsor of the Emergency Rescue Committee which announces it raised over $50,000 during October and November, 1940, to bring Red "refujews" and propagandists, unwanted in Europe; over to the U.S.A. (see back cover, New Republic,12/16/40). Pres. Hutchins, Dorothy Thompson, Elmer Davis, Wm. Allan Neilson, Raymond Gram Swing, George Shuster, etc., are helping with the glad work. (What Europe ousts, we get!) The Daily News, 12/10/40, reported that addressing the Emergency Rescue Committee meeting was "Miss Ingrid Warburg of the Hamburg branch of the noted Hamburg family" the international bankers united by marriage with the Kuhn Loeb & Company international banking partners who financed the Russian revolution.

The wife of Clay Judson, another national committeeman of the America First Committee, is a sponsor of the same radical Emergency Rescue Committee (12/9/40).

Edward L. Ryerson, Jr., a rich, Pink social "uplifter" is another. He is vice-chairman and director of the Inland Steel Company, headed by P. D. Block; a director of the radical socialistic Survey Associates, supported heavily by wealthy Jews; he was awarded the Rosenberger and Benj. J. Rosenthal medals; he is trustee of the Univ. of Chicago headed by Hutchins, a hot-bed of radicalism; he is president of Chicago Commons, another radical center; committeeman of the American Committee for Christian German (Jewish) Refugees along with leading Reds and Pinks; as executive committeeman of the National Conference of Jews and Christians sponsored jointly by pro-Red, anti-Christian B'nai B'rith and the radical Federal Council of Churches, he announced that their program was to be extended to six additional cities in 1941 and radio broadcasts increased from 377 to 454 (Chicago Daily News,12/13/40).

Another, Prof. Albert W. Palmer, supported Socialist Douglas Clyde Macintosh (see The Red Network) as a professional pacifist; in 1938 he welcomed the very red National Religion and Labor Foundation conference (see The Red Network for their atheist Soviet cartoons); praised the C.I.O. and assisted in conducting the memorial service, with Communist Party organizers on the platform, in honor of the Communist-led rioters at the Republic Steel plant (Communist Party's Midwest Daily Record, 5/31/38); board member of the Chicago branch of the Communist-aiding American Civil Liberties Union; is active in radical Negro and white inter-racial affairs; opposed teachers' oaths of loyalty to the constitution; etc.

## More Leftists

Robert L. Bliss, promotion manager of the extremely Left "PM", and Sidney Hertzberg of very red "Uncensored", have been engaged for promotion and publicity work by the America First Committee and are now in Chicago preparing for the meeting tonight (December 18) at which John T. Flynn is to speak. Anton J. Carlson was a recent speaker.

## Have Mercy!

If you do not get all of the personal reports and information requested of me, have mercy! I am so swamped with such demands, some of which would require more hours of labor than there are in a day or a week! Debonair, well-meaning patriots daily pen little notes asking me to look up and write for them the equivalent of the world's history and see that they get it not later than tomorrow morning. Rarely does anyone enclose anything, but a few estimate that $1 should be ample to pay for work equivalent to compiling a special dictionary, $5 a special encyclopedia set.

However, I do try, and want, as I have for years, to hit the high spots and aid everyone who is actively on the battle front, whether or not they can afford a stamp toward upkeep of the office. Who could resist the following?

"Dear Madam:

"I am a Presbyterian minister. Some time ago, I sent for your work 'The Red Network' (recent edition). I regard this as a work of very great value, and wish to thank you for it. It is most valuable for reference.

"I have a special purpose in writing at this time. On page 224, you give a blasphemous poem by Langston Hughes, beginning: 'Listen Christ, You did alright in your day, I reckon'. Hughes was educated in Lincoln University, a school supposed to be under the care of the Presbyterian Church, and where I served as a professor for years, both in the collegiate department and the theological seminary. I had Hughes in my class of Biblical instruction. I beg to inquire whether you can surely validate the vile quotation. No longer connected with Lincoln, I have served warning that if the institution honors him with a degree, I will publicly expose him. His portrait has just appeared in the 'Lincoln University Bulletin', and I suspect that more is in the offing. Should I show him up, however, my authority is pretty sure to be questioned by the worthless management.

"Greatly appreciating a reply, and being furnished with the facts, I am,

"Yours very gratefully,

"(Rev.) Edwin J. Reinke

"West Grove, Penna., December 10th, 1940"

I replied as follows:

"Dear Rev. Reinke:

"I am delighted that you are crusading for the right. I certainly can back up with documentary proof every statement that I have ever printed. I realize that you need documentary proof in hand for your assertions, therefore I am having a photostatic reproduction made of Langston Hughes' poem 'Goodbye Christ', printed in a Communist magazine 'The Negro Worker', November-December, 1932. Turning over the page next to his poem is the back page of that issue and as we have the monthly issues fastened together, the front page of the next issue is next to

it, with its anti-religious cartoon and plea to down the missionaries. I am having a photostat, therefore, made of those two pages also. If you are able to meet the cost of the photostats, I will appreciate it. Our funds are skinny and my services are donated.

"I am aghast as I look over the many cards and envelope files we have listing Langston Hughes' Communist activities. I shall select a few items which may be useful to you but could issue a comprehensive report, although this would require many hours of time. For example, he was a member of the editorial council of the communist magazine 'Soviet Russia Today', a magazine devoted to eulogizing Soviet Russia and Communism, in 1937, 1938, 1939, and his name still appears as a member of the editorial council in 1940. He is a member of the national advisory council of the New Theatre League, which puts on Communist revolutionary plays. He is a sponsor of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade (Communist Party's Daily Worker, 2/21/40, p.4), the Communists who fought in Red Spain. I, myself, took pictures of the ruined churches and blasphemous desecrations against Christianity that the Communists committed in every town they occupied in Spain. He writes plays for the Communists' Negro People's Theatre. One was given at the Abraham Lincoln Center in Chicago, according to the Communist Daily Record, 10/25/38. He is active in every branch of the Communist movement and was exposed by the Massachusetts House Report, No. 2100, 5/27/38, p.443, etc. He is author of the play, "Do You Want to Be Free? distributed by the communist New Theatre League, which is the American section of Moscow's International Union of the Revolutionary Theatre.

"In the Communist Party's western newspaper, the People's World, 8/28/40, p.5, appears the 'poem', 'Landing At Havana', a copy of which I am enclosing, with this statement: 'This poem was written by Mayakovsky' (of Soviet Russia) 'in 1926, after a trip to the United States, Mexico, Cuba. The trnaslation is by LANGSTON HUGHES, the noted Negro poet.' The filthy cast of the Communist mind, and of Hughes' mind in particular, is shown by Hughes' translation. I regret to even quote from it but believe that you will need it for your purpose.

"The congregation of Aimee Semple McPherson's temple recently picketed the hotel where Langston Hughes was scheduled to speak and insisted that they would stay on the job until he left, and according to the newspaper clipping, he escaped out the kitchen door.

"More power to you. It is an insult to Christian Americans to honor such a man in any way.

"Cordially,

"(Mrs.A.W.) ELIZABETH DILLING"

## Honoring Blasphemy

The anti-religious cartoon, on the cover of the Communist magazine printing Hughes' blasphemous "Goodbye Christ" poem, pictures a Negro forced to his knees before the Cross by "imperialism". Below, are the words "DOWN WITH THE IMPERIALISTS AND THE MISSIONARIES!"

Nineteen hundred years ago an anti-Christian Sanhedrin stood ready with silver to dole out to any one of Christ's household willing to betray Him. The same system is in action today.

In case Negro Communist Langston Hughes (whose poetry is also strongly commended by the Y.W.C.A. National Program exchange!) gets his honorary degree from the Presbyterian Lincoln Univ. (a school for colored with a white faculty) you may wish to know how, in this age, Honors and degrees can be won from apostate "Christian" institutions! Therefore I am quoting from Langston Hughes' vile translation featured by the Communist Party's People's World of 8/28/40.

"Landing at Havana"

"The steamboat approached, whinnied, blew -...
Having powdered their pimples and washed their good-looks,
Dragging themselves along, coquettishly,
The first class passengers passed the smiling doctor....
The first to pass in a diamond dawn was
The pig-king, Smith.
His pipe stinks a yard away.
Try to touch such a person -
Under the silk of his drawers, under the sheer cambric,
Try to make out his sickness.
'This island gives promise of abstinence. Order a halt!'
The captain saluted, and Smith, syphilitic, disembarked....
The temples of the Negro are throbbing, throbbing,
Tom is stretched out in the hold.
Tomorrow Tom will be vaccinated,
And Tom will go home.
Ashore Tom has a wife...
Meanwhile Tom was bumming around on jobs -...
How could she wait with a hungry mouth?
Tom forgot to love her. Tom left.
He divides his straw mat with the white girls.
She cannot earn anything. She cannot steal.
Everywhere, policemen under their umbrellas.
But Mr. Smith's waning passion is kindled by this exotic.
His body becomes sweaty under his underwear -
From black flesh.
He pushes dollars into her hands,...
She decides definitely, 'No,'
And murmurs, 'Yes.'
Already the decaying Mr. Smith
Is pushing the door with his shoulder.
And the obliging elevator winds them up into a room.
Tom appeared in two days,
Slept with her for a week without awakening,
And was glad there was bread and money,...
But the day came when on his dark skin
The incomprehensible pattern spread.
His children in mother's womb were dumb and blind....
Attention to Negroes became special.
When the flock was gathering, the lean priest
Pointed out this most obvious handbook of morals:
God punishes him and her, that she invited guests.
And the rottenness of black flesh fell from rotting Negro bones.
I did not intend to enter politics with this.
I intended simply to make a little picture.
Some call it - civilization.
Others - colonial policy."

## We Are Many!

The cause might seem hopeless were it not for countless letters like the following that pour in from coast to coast:

Dr. Mel Morris, who carries a ton of equipment for his famous pictorial Cavalcade of Christianity which has converted countless people, writes December 15th from Denver: "I wish to assure you that it was indeed a distinguished pleasure to meet you and to know first hand of the vitally important work which you are doing at this critical time. The people are still talking about your wonderful message and I wish to assure you that it was the particular high point of this Western Conference thus far."

Mr. Henry Hewins of Redmond, Oregon, writes: "The discouraging thing is that the people generally appear to be so doped and blinded by enemy propaganda that they have lost all desire to know truth...But we believe there is a Power greater than money Who will save this nation for those who trust Him. May the Lord sustain you, Mrs. Dilling and make it possible for your patriotic and Christian work to continue."

Mr. Ross E. Bowman of Athens, Michigan, on beautiful Bible verse stationery, writes, "I am heartily in accord with your anti-New Deal, anti-Communistic program and truth findings and feel almost in the dark when I don't get them. Tell me, please, the cost of these letters to me per month and put me on the permanent list."

## Some "System"!

I had to tell him that my unbusinesslike system is to send letters to anyone really interested, using whatever comes in from those who can afford to contribute for those who cannot and when the cash box is bare - and it frequently is, and things look dark, something, so far, has come along to save us.

The very poor people out of work or on W.P.A. relief, who have sent in their precious mites with sincere prayers for the cause, are what touch and keep me going to slave daily and to take more kicks!

A teacher from Dutton, Michigan, writes: "Please find enclosed one dollar and some stamps. I surely appreciate your letters. It encourages one to keep on fighting. It makes me feel that if you are willing to face the enemy with so much courage I should certainly be willing to help in some way. Many thanks for the book 'Lord Lothian vs. Lord Lothian'. I shall pass it on when I've finished reading it... How much I appreciate your 'Red Network'. I check on speakers at our teachers' institutes...The thing that makes one's heart ache is the fact that some fellow teachers won't even take the trouble to investigate into these subversive activities when the material is presented to them...But we all know we must fight on while there is still hope. I hope with all my heart that you shall keep health and strength to lead us in this fight. I'm sure no one else could fill your place."

Mr. F. C. Miller, a patriotic office worker who distributed 700 copies of my THE RED NETWORK in Akron, writes: "I am so grateful for the gift of the book you sent me by Lord Lothian that I must thank you at once...I am sending you one dollar...I feel sure if a million of these could be distributed it would assure peace in America. Capital-

ism could well pay you $200,000 per year for your valuable services... Our only hope is in awakening Congress."

A dear Christian woman, Mrs, J. A. Stretch of Minneapolis, writes sending 50¢, saying, "We are old people now. I am 70 years old and my husband 77. He is a semi-invalid having progressive palsy." She closes expressing joy in her faith in God's promised second coming and saying "God bless you".

Mrs. Henry B. Joy of Detroit sends $10 in memory of her husband's interest in my work. He died in 1936 after doing probably the greatest work in exposing the subversive activities of the Federal Council of Churches of anyone in America. I exchanged letters and data with him constantly yet never saw him until Albert and I attended his funeral. His passing, a loss to the nation and the entire cause, brought tears to our eyes.

## Are There No American Bridge Designers?

November 7th you heard of the crash of the great $6,400,000 bridge at Tacoma, Washington, previously nicknamed "Galloping Gertie" because of its swaying. Built with Federal W.P.A. and R.F.C. funds it was, characteristically, built and designed by Russian-born Leon S. Moisseiff, listed in "Who's Who in American Jewry, 1938-9" as having been Soviet Commissar of Transportation in Russia, 1929-31.

The program of Marxist ruin is well under way, both here and in England, without clear explanation shown anyone as to why 66,000,000 nose-led Britishers whose government controls an Empire, of some 445,000,000 human beings, which embraces one-fourth of the earth's surface, owing American tax-payers billions borrowed before, during, and after the last "peculiar" World War, should, with assets of some five billion dollars available in the U.S.A. (Chgo.Tribune,12/18/40), now again be calling on the American tax-payers to foot the bill for the present war which was declared by a pressure-run English government; or why, with less than one fourth of its people self-governing, the British Empire should be called a "democracy".

## Again the Buzzards Assemble

There may be truth in the general opinion expressed by English people that during the World War the U.S.A. sent them poorly made goods at profiteering prices. The crowd in power in Washington today is much like the old Baruch-Frankfurter War Industries Board crew. Again the buzzards eagerly await their killing on fat war contracts at taxpayers' expense. To quote "America Awake!", by Oscar Brumback (1936):

(p.108) "It is a matter of record, as Col. House, Woodrow Wilson's chief adviser, in his memoirs admits, that despite our professions of fighting 'to make the World safe for Democracy' President Wilson, five months before America entered the World War, had not decided on which side we should fight, stating to Colonel House that we had as many grievances against one side as we had against the other! This was during Wilson's second Presidential campaign with its famous slogan 'He kept us out of War.'...

"In connection with the investigations made by the Senate Munitions Committee, there was disclosed a cablegram to Woodrow Wilson, dated March 5, 1917, thirty days before America entered the war, from Walter Hines Page, the American Ambassador to Great Britain, which states in effect that if we were to protect our business interests, we

must join the war as soon as possible on the side of the Allies; that the Allies had lost the war; that it had become extremely unlikely that the United States would become involved; and that J. P. Morgan & Co., and the other international bankers had wagered on a losing horse and made loans to the Allies which would be lost. Ambassador Page urged therefore that the United States declare war to save and guarantee Allied credits...

"the United States with as many grievances against one side as the other, entered the Great War which cost us hundreds of thousands of lives, a billion dollars in interest annually ever since on non-productive bonds required to fight it; a war in which there were 22,000 new American millionaires created out of war profits alone in a conflict which necessitated our appropriating $42,000,000,000 to fight and win it; a war from which we asked nothing and got nothing in return...with thousands widowed, orphaned and bereaved, and countless thousands maimed and broken for life....

France

"Lest our children or our children's children may become involved in the quarrels of foreign nations, let them be taught the whole story of how in 1917-18 we fought 'to make the world safe for democracy.' Let them be told that...we were required by the French Govt. to pay a duty on every can of beans and on every kind of food and war supplies which we shipped into France to feed and equip American armies in France engaged in driving German armies out of France.

"We can recall that, not only did France require America to pay a duty on all food and war supplies shipped into France, but that when the war was over the French Govt. sought to impose a duty on the balance of these same supplies before allowing America to take them out of France. As a result, the United States Govt. 'sold' to the French Govt. these $2,000,000,000 worth of supplies for $407,000,000, which sum never has been paid; and yet France, after keeping what she wanted, sold more than enough of the balance of those supplies to pay for the whole lot. More than that, as a matter of actual fact, as Senator Johnson of California has shown, France realized in proceeds from the sale of these supplies which she did not want, more than enough to cover the sum total, interest and principal, of all she ever paid on her more than five billion dollar debt to this country, on which France welshed in 1932....

England

"Let them be told that for the use of English boats loaded to the gunwales with American soldiers, they charged us from $140 to $180 for every man landed in France to fight their battles. Let them be told that the United States paid France damages even for the ground over which American armies fought and for the damage done to French property by American shells used in driving the German armies out of France.

"Nor is that all. When the United States armies went into France, they dredged her harbors, and rebuilt her docks, in addition to erecting more than a thousand miles of telephone and telegraph lines. It was found necessary to build hundreds of miles of railroads...Today all these contributions to French industrial improvement and development are still in France, being used by the people of France, the first and last cost having been borne by the American people...

"Nor must it ever be forgotten that during the Great War, England borrowed money from Japan and THE JAPANESE GOT THEIR MONEY BACK, PAID

WITH MONEY BORROWED BY ENGLAND FROM THE UNITED STATES. We can also remember that for the $5,525,000,000 worth of additional American commodities bought from 1914-1917 by European belligerents while America was 'neutral,' not a dollar has been paid...

"Before those Allied nations were through, we loaned England $4,715,000,000; France over $5,000,000,000; Italy $2,150,000,000. Twelve nations owe the United States over $13,000,000,000--the principal of which war debts we cancelled--and those nations then refused to pay us even the interest on the money they 'borrowed' for rehabilitation purposes after the war.

"A NATION IN THE HANDS OF TRAITOROUS, TIME-SERVING, VENAL PROFESSIONAL POLITICIANS AND THEIR MASTERS MAY BE EXCUSED FOR BEING AN IDIOT ONCE, BUT UNDER NO CIRCUMSTANCES SHOULD SUCH TRAITOROUS VENALITY OR DRIVELLING IDIOCY BE TOLERATED A SECOND TIME." (pp.108-115.)

## International Manipulations

Some day some of the world's international mysteries will be laid bare to millions of horrified dupes. An AP despatch, 12/14/40, reports that Flandin revealed "that the former British and French envoys to Germany, Sir Neville Henderson and Robert Coulondre, failed to let Poland know before the outbreak of the war about proposals by Germany for peace."

To quote the Chicago Tribune, 12/14/40: "Refugees are admitted as quota immigrants and also as visitors on business or pleasure for a limited period. Extensions of the period are readily granted, however, Mr. Roosevelt having stated that no refugee would be compelled to return home." (That is, if Red enough!)

## Inform! Organize! Protest!

Christ set forth the threefold duties of a Christian: to God; to family; to government (then represented by "Caeser").

I think the time is at hand for the informed, not only to go out like crusaders, spread literature, speak and inform others, but to organize a Christian pressure party. The American Labor Party, the Commonwealth Political Federations of New York, Minnesota, Washington, and similar "Progressive" parties have concentrated for years on backing Marxist candidates for public office on both major party tickets until these forces now rule America.

We need a pressure party dedicated to supporting candidates on an old or, where necessary, on a new ticket, candidates who will uphold the Christian principles which inspired our Constitution and form of government; who will support a foreign trade policy for the benefit of Americans instead of for the purpose of international meddling with the governments of other nations at taxpayers' expense; who will stop importing farm commodities from the Argentine while taxing Americans to pay farmers not to raise these; who will ban all immigration until our own unemployed all have jobs; who will ban Marxists and Marxist teachings committed to the overthrow of our Christian institutions from public schools and pay-rolls.

We need a pressure party to push politicians as hard to the Christian Right as Marxists push them to the Atheist Left! We need to organize for the Congressional elections of 1942 and for 1944.

Meantime, in the bare hope of avoiding, through Congressional opposition, the fast approaching debacle, you can only get busy immediately and wire, deluge Congressmen to keep America out of war.

I have just talked with Mr. Earl Southard, Secy. of the Citizens Keep America Out of War Committee. He is a dandy and knows what it is all about and is sending me cards to enclose with this letter. Use them! Both he and Mr. William J. Grace, a lawyer, who is chairman of the Citizens Keep America Out of War Committee, are officials of the patriotic Veterans of Foreign Wars. My good friend Father Aubert is active on the Citizens Committee.

For the salvation and happiness of us all I wish you, not a "happy" but a concerned, actively sacrificial New Year!

Sincerely,

(Mrs.A.W.) ELIZABETH DILLING

ED/me

If you care to receive these monthly releases, will you let me know and, if possible, contribute something to the cost?

# QUOTING LORD LOTHIAN

EDITED BY

ELIZABETH DILLING

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## Foreword

Nothing has raised the ire of American and British warmongers more than distribution of the articles and speeches on European affairs of the late Lord Lothian, British Ambassador to the U.S.A., written before he dutifully became chief war propagandist for his government. These, logically, lead one to the conclusion that George Washington's admonition against U.S.A. involvement in Europe's perpetual wars was the soundest advice ever given our Country for the good of our own people.

Last October, before Lord Lothian's death, 12/12/40, (and Washingtonians tell of his unhappiness over the war in his last days), I bought and distributed 4600 copies of a 53-page booklet composed of excerpts from seventeen of Lord Lothian's articles and speeches entitled "LORD LOTHIAN VERSUS LORD LOTHIAN". Afterwards, the Saturday Evening Post devoted an editorial page to these, Mr. William Randolph Hearst two editorials, etc., all of which went from coast to coast.

Since then there has been a determined attempt to smear these writings of Lord Lothian, even to infer that he never issued them.

So, in the Library of Congress, in the Library of International Relations, the University of Chicago Library, and the Chicago Public Library I have checked and secured reproductions of all of the seventeen Lothian articles from which excerpts appear in the booklet I distributed. I found these accurately quoted. The entire context amplifies the sense of the excerpts. Of course Lothian's ideas on the League of Nations, world federation, etc., would be rejected by most Americans.

There is much, in fact, constant duplication of thought and statement in these Lothian articles. Some are so many pages long as to make the cost of reproducing all of them in their entirety prohibitive. However, I am reproducing the entire nine page Lothian article "Germany and the Peace of Europe" from the 11/37 issue of International Affairs magazine (excerpts from which compose chapter 11 of the Lothian booklet), also the entire pages of the Times (London) of 9/17/37 and Observer (London) of 11/27/38 newspapers (excerpts from which form chapters 13 and 16 of the Lothian booklet).

In addition, we are mimeographing from the originals all excerpts in the rest of the Lothian booklet and adding some intervening matter. All page numbers of sources are cited in order to facilitate looking up and checking these.

## What Now?

Eighty per cent of our people are opposed to the slaughter of the flower of our young manhood in foreign lands and waters in defiance of F.D.R.'s positive campaign promises to the contrary. Those informed are nauseated at the cant and hypocrisy of calling for the blood and resources of this nation to enforce the "four freedoms" - freedom from <u>want</u>, freedom from <u>fear</u>, freedom of <u>press</u> and speech and freedom of <u>worship</u> - "everywhere in the world" while one may see our own people in any big city searching garbage cans for food; while armies of New Deal "O.G.P.U." sleuths are questioning and snooping on patriots opposed to F.D.R.'s illegal war policies in order to instill <u>fear</u> into their hearts; while freedom of <u>worship</u> is menaced by the La Guardia "canned sermon" system and Col. Early F. W. Duncan, of Lowery Field near Denver, has already arrogantly forbidden 10,000 of our soldiers to attend any church whose pastor preaches against Roosevelt's war policies!

It remains to be seen whether the last freedom - freedom of press and speech - is now to be erased by dictatorship; whether every American is to be successfully smeared with the "Nazi" label who upholds the principles of George Washington or who, like me, dares support them by quoting words of British Ambassador Lord Lothian, distasteful to warmongers. If this last freedom, too, is ruthlessly suppressed, may such suppression act as a clarion call for American awakening!

With our boys, our resources, our liberties already slated for the sharks, what remains for us to fear? Only complacent servitude. Servitude cannot be avoided by submission to it.

A Christian lady writes from Georgia, 10/28/41: "I understand the book of Revelation and the martyring of the Saints better each daily paper that I read. I believe the Saints will be martyred as 'Isolationists' or 'Nazis'. May God richly bless you and yours."

* * *

Copies of "QUOTING LORD LOTHIAN," compiled by Elizabeth Dilling (Mrs. A. W.), author of THE RED NETWORK, THE ROOSEVELT RED RECORD AND ITS BACKGROUND, etc., may be secured at 35¢ each; copies of Mrs. Dilling's 34-page October Round Table Letter containing much vital up-to-date news plus highlights on New Deal opposition to these Lothian articles are available at 20¢ each.

Address: Patriotic Research Bureau
(Elizabeth Dilling, Director)
53 West Jackson Boulevard
Chicago

# "THE PLACE OF BRITAIN IN THE COLLECTIVE SYSTEM"*#

## The League

"Many people think that it has been the League which has kept the peace of Europe for the last fifteen years. This is not true at all. The League has done excellent work and has intervened successfully in various conflicts between minor Powers, especially in the Balkan peninsula. But the fundamental stability of Europe has been ensured not by the Covenant, but by the military preponderance of France and her allies over Germany and the ex-enemy nations." (1) "As soon as it became clear that the United States was going to reject the League, that the Anglo-American Treaty of Guarantee to France against unprovoked aggression from Germany was going to lapse, that even Article 16 was going to be emasculated because Great Britain could not make economic sanctions effective except at the risk of creating a grave crisis with the United States,"(1)

## France

"France set to work not only to modernise her own army, but to organise and equip the armies of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Roumania and Yugoslavia, and to enter into military alliances with them, in order to give her overwhelming military preponderance as against any attempt to upset the Treaties of Versailles, of Trianon, and so on, by force." (2)"I think she would have been inclined to do this even if these things had not happened, for the United States would no more have accepted the French view of how peace had to be kept in Europe than the British have done, and France would have remained uncertain whether the Anglo-American Treaty of Guarantee and Article 16 meant real security or not."(2) "European realities were nakedly revealed when France, convinced that Germany intended to evade the Treaty of Versailles, entered the Ruhr in 1923, alone and contrary to the advice of Great Britain, in order to compel fulfilment. And it was, in fact, the experience in the Ruhr which put the party of fulfilment in power in Germany for some eight years, though it also convinced France that reparations could not be collected by bayonets.

"...the French have been attempting with perfect sincerity, to make the League of Nations the instrument for doing what their own alliance system had done, namely give security to themselves and peace to Europe by guaranteeing under military as well as economic sanctions what they call the 'integral' enforcement of the treaty settlement of 1918, except in so far as they themselves were willing voluntarily to make minor modifications in it. They have resisted disarmament by themselves or re-armament by Germany on the ground that the Treaties of Peace were the public law of Europe,...They have done this even though it implied indefinite 'inequality' and defencelessness for Germany in armaments and the forcible perpetuation of the whole treaty settlement, on the ground that the primary condition of peace is the enforcement of law..."

## The British

(3)"The British, on the other hand, with equal sincerity, have felt themselves quite unable to accept the French thesis."(3) "They have felt that the Treaties of Peace were both dictated and severe, and required some, though not much, revision by agreement, if they were to become the generally accepted political foundations of a European policy. They have become more and more con-

*Source: INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS magazine, 9/34, pp. 626-8.
#Between the numbers 1-1, 2-2, 3-3, etc., etc., are intervening words not included in excerpts quoted in chapter 1 of the booklet "Lord Lothian vs. Lord Lothian".

vinced that there could be no lasting peace in Europe except on the basis of 'equality' in armaments for Germany. They have been unable to persuade themselves that peace could be ensured by permanent enforcement of arms inequality and the treaty 'status quo' on Germany, by any collective combination, however great..."

Defenceless Policy Resisted

"...they have felt that the Nazi revolution in itself has been largely caused by 'inequality' too long continued, and that to convert the League into a system for dragooning Germany into subservience would be to destroy the moral foundations of the League itself.

"The long latent crisis has now been precipitated because the Germans, having been promised 'equality' in December 1932 and having found that for one reason or other 'equality' was delayed and was apparently to be indefinitely postponed, refused to remain 'defenceless' any longer, left the Disarmament Conference and the League of Nations in October last, and have now begun to try to recover equality by re-arming.

"It is a dangerous crisis. The French, realising that it is impossible to get Great Britain to guarantee stability in a re-armed Europe are vigorously trying to strengthen their old system of security by military preponderance behind the Treaty of Versailles with the assistance of Russia and, in a measure of Italy. Failing that, they have been toying once more with the idea of a preventive war. Germany, caught between a stimulated public opinion at home and foreign danger, is trying to make up her mind how far and how fast she can safely go towards equality through re-armament..."

Leave Europe Alone

(4)"My own view is simple. I tried to express it a week or two ago in some letters to The Times. It is this."(4) "We shall never make any progress towards an effective collective system until we separate the world system of peace from the European, and recognise that our place is in the world system rather than the European system,...

"...Great Britain's international position has fundamentally changed. She is no longer the richest Power in the world. She no longer has a paramount navy, because she has conceded equality to the United States and something not very far short of it to Japan. And she is now vulnerable from the air...

"I come, finally, to my conclusions. My fundamental conclusion, as I have already indicated, is that the only way of avoiding a complete breakdown of the League system, the only way forward towards a really effective collective system, the only way of avoiding a return to the crude pre-War anarchy, is to separate the European regional security system from the world system, and that Great Britain should form part, primarily, of the world system..."

(5)"...If we are to make the League a true and effective world League, or to put 'teeth in the Kellogg Pact,' it will be because Europe is left to contrive a regional security system of its own, equivalent to that of the British Commonwealth or Pan-America, and the world League deals with those questions which transcend regional interests and are of world concern...

"...Any European security system will rest, as it has hitherto rested,

*Same source: pp. 628, 629, 630, 632, 636, 637.

despite the Covenant, on a set of obligations far more precise than Article 16 or a promise to use sea power. It will be based on an obligation to use prompt military action, if the casus foederis or the need for sanctions arises. And this is precisely the kind of obligation into which Great Britain cannot and should not enter by herself alone. She cannot do so because she will not give to any other Power the right to force her into a European war. She will not do so because the duty of her fleet must primarily be to defend the Commonwealth, and she cannot tie it to European waters in the interests of European stability (apart from British security), if it is needed, for instance, at Singapore. She will not do so, unless the obligation is counter-signed by the Dominions, because she can no longer commit the Dominions to war, and if she was drawn into a war for European stability, some of them might declare their neutrality as the only way of keeping out of the war, in which case the effectiveness of the Navy would pro tanto be reduced. And she will not do so because, unless the United States is also a party to the obligations, to plunge into war without a prior agreement with the United States might be to add to the evils of a European conflict the immeasurably great calamity of an Anglo-American war over the interference with neutral trade."(5)

"...If this is so, the sooner we make it clear that we reject any kind of automatic commitment the sooner will Europe make its own regional system,...My own view is that, if only we do not interfere, Europe will rapidly establish a regional security system of its own, which may well prevent war and lead both to appeasement and to some measure of limitation of armaments in a system of balance before many years are past..."

*Same source: pp. 637, 638 and 639.

"PACIFISM IS NOT ENOUGH"*#

The Anarchy of Europe

"For centuries before Bismarck Germany had been the cockpit of Europe. This was mainly due to the fact that Germany itself was divided into two or three hundred principalities. Napoleon reduced these states to about thirty. Bismarck saw that if Germany was to have peace, security, and prosperity she must have unity. But he found that the difficulty in obtaining united action in the old German confederation of sovereign states was insuperable. So he pronounced his famous dictum about blood and iron and by means of three wars united Germany, except for Austria, into a single federated state."

(1)"In doing so he ended what was left of the old concert of Europe. Europe became a mere anarchy of fifteen sovereign states. Inevitably in the interest of self-preservation these states formed groups and alliances. Gradually, after twenty years of dexterous diplomatic jugglery by Bismarck to prevent it, Europe settled down to the system whereby its destinies were controlled by two great alliances - the Triple Alliance of Germany, Austria-Hungary, and a rather doubtful partner Italy, and the Dual Alliance of France and Russia. Alterations in the political structure of Europe to meet the changing conditions of the times could thereafter only be made by agreement between these two groups and every such question came to be judged not mainly by considerations of reason or justice but according to whether a particular proposal increased or diminished the security or the prospect of victory of either of the groups or of the

*Source: "Pacifism is Not Enough" a Burge Memorial Lecture delivered at Oxford, 1935, pp. 17 and 18.
#Between the numbers 1-1, 2-2, 3-3, etc., etc., are intervening words not included in excerpts quoted in chapter 2 of the booklet "Lord Lothian vs. Lord Lothian."

particular states within it, in the event of war. Thereafter every local conflict tended to develop immediately into a general European war. As an inevitable corollary, might became the supreme element in European politics - for the ultimate question in every particular controversy was whether either side was prepared to throw the sword into the scale. This system was called macht-politik or power diplomacy, and arose not from the malignity of this nation or that, though some played it more readily than others, but inexorably from the anarchy of Europe."(1)

"By the end of the century Germany was no longer content with a purely European position. Her union had led to immense economic development. She had become interested in world trade. She became dissatisfied at finding that world politics were being decided by Britain and Japan, Britain and France, or the United States without bringing Germany into consultation. Hence the launching of the German navy Bills by the Kaiser. These Bills were not intended to give Germany supremacy, but, as their preamble stated, to ensure that no decision should be made without taking Germany's wishes into account. Germany, in the old phrase, demanded 'her place in the sun', a phrase which translated into post-war parlance is the word 'equality'. There was nothing wicked about this desire" (2)"in itself. What made it fatal was that European anarchy had led to an alliance system and to an intensity of competition in armaments which turned every international question into a conflict of interest between the groups, rendered it practically impossible to alter the status quo except by war, and made it almost inevitable that any local conflict in which any of the major powers became involved turned instantly into a general European war.

"...Anarchy, not national wickedness, was the villain of the tragic drama which ended in the World War. The most sinister fact to-day is that this time-table has begun to reappear, made immensely more dangerous by the air."(2)

## Failure of the League of Nations

"But it requires no argument to show that in fundamentals it has so far failed. It has not been able to secure the adherence of all nations. It has not been able to abate economic nationalism and lower the tariffs and restrictions which have caused unemployment everywhere and destroyed democracy in many lands. It has not been able to bring about all-round disarmament. It has not been able to revise the treaties of peace except in ephemeral and minor particulars. It has not been able to mobilize the kind of strength which would enable it to compel one of the great Powers to conform to that public opinion.

"...Wilson in introducing the Covenant to the Peace Conference sadly expressed the hope that one of the central functions of the League would be to bring about peaceful revision of injustices which war passion made unavoidable at the time.

"But the League has never been able to do this, either under Article XIX or Article XI or Article XV. Reparations have disappeared - but through the pressure of facts, not of agreement. The unilateral disarmament of Germany has disappeared, not by agreement, despite three years of discussion, but by unilateral action. The only important agreed relaxation has been the evacuation of the Rhineland five years before the appointed day. It has never been possible seriously to discuss the Polish-German frontiers, the question whether Austria was to have a free choice as to her own destiny, the duration of the unilateral demilitarization of Germany's western frontiers, the colonial question,

*Same source: pp. 18, 19, 24, 25, 26 and 32.

the Hungarian frontiers. If there is to be real peace, agreed solutions for some of these questions are essential."

*Same source: p.32.

"GERMANY AND FRANCE"*#
"THE HEART OF THE PEACE PROBLEM"

"The Treaty of Versailles imposed two things upon her."(Germany) "First, a great reduction in territory, a loss of colonies, and heavy reparations. Second, 'defencelessness' against her neighbours through the unilateral disarmament clauses of Part V. of the Treaty. Since 1918 this 'inequality' for Germany has, in fact, been France's 'security'...

"It is, then, 'inequality' that Germany is absolutely determined to get rid of to-day. It involved liability to the Ruhr invasion and to incidents like the present Memel situation. It meant that, in practice, the neighbours of Germany could consult about European problems, while Germany was kept outside the door, and then ask her to 'sign on the dotted line.' They would afford to do this because Germany, normally one of the Great Powers of the world, could not, in the last resort, resist. National-Socialism, which among many other things is a movement of individual and national self-respect, came into being largely to end the abasement of Germany,"(1)"and convinced that she could not recover 'equality' - that is, her rightful place among the nations - except by recovering military power equivalent to that of her neighbours."(1) "That is why, at the first hesitation in October, 1933, to implement the undertaking of December, 1932, to give her 'equality' in a regime of security, she left the League and, after making the offer rejected by M. Barthou last April, proceeded to rearm. That, in her view, is now the only road to equality.

"What is the way out? The central fact in Europe to-day is that Germany does not want war and is prepared to renounce it absolutely as a method of settling her disputes with her neighbours, provided she is given real equality, because it is only equality which will enable her to test whether the pacific method of dealing with disputes can reasonably succeed...He" (Hitler) "goes farther and says that he will sign pacts of non-aggression with all Germany's neighbours, to prove the sincerity of his desire for peace, and that in armaments he asks for no more than 'equality' for Germany, and will accept international inspection if everybody else accepts it too.

"I have not the slightest doubt that this attitude is perfectly sincere. Hitler's Germany does not want war...So Germany does not want war, even about those matters in which she most dislikes what is left of the Treaty of Versailles, and which Europe fears she might try to remedy by war...

"If these are the facts, and I am convinced they are, how, amid the terrible fears and suspicions and hatreds which dominate Europe to-day, are they to be made the basis of an agreement which will convince Europe that they are really going to have settled peace for 10 years and that they can therefore get on with economic reconstruction and the restoration of international trade instead of preparing for an inevitable war? I think the answer rests with the British Government...There is no road, I am convinced, by the method so often pursued, and almost inevitable while Germany was erupting in the National Socialist revolution - namely, that of getting the neighbours of Germany together, agreeing

*Source: London Times, 1/31/35 and 2/1/35.
#Between the numbers 1-1, 2-2, 3-3, etc., are intervening words not included in excerpts quoted in chapter 3 of the booklet "Lord Lothian vs. Lord Lothian."

to something they can all accept and then presenting it to Germany on a plate, on the basis that if she refuses it proves her bad intentions and that if she signs she is once more back in a slightly relaxed strait-waistcoat of the Versailles Treaty. Germany has finished once and for all with that system. That was the method of the 'Diktat' of Versailles. And that method is largely what she means by 'inequality.' Equality means that she takes part from the outset in the discussions as to how Europe is to be stabilised on exactly the same terms as everybody else, and with the same kind of power and influence as her equals. Besides, the 'sign on the dotted line' method is the wrong method from the moral and psychological point of view. We are far more likely to interest Germany in the problem of European peace and reconstruction...by treating her as a friend and as one of the European community than as a dangerous animal which everybody approaches with loaded rifles shouting: 'Why don't you show that you are a good European by coming back into the cage?' - a League of Nations which hitherto, from the point of view of Germany, has been little more than an instrument for keeping her disarmed and impotent while evading fulfilment of Article XIX. - the article providing for the revision of Treaties by pacific means.

"...War comes far more frequently from inability to change out-of-date political arrangements in time than from direct aggression. Unless Article XIX. of the Covenant can be made effective the Covenant itself will disappear...

"Take again National Socialism itself. National Socialism is the outcome of a four years' war, the Ruhr, inflation, and two revolutions in 20 years." (2)"It is harsh, brutal, and ruthless. It has none of the Christian quality of mercy which power should show to its opponents when they are defenceless and weak."(2) "But it has been strong enough to give Germany unity where it was terribly divided, to produce a stable Government in place of weak and unstable Governments, and to restore to Germany national self-respect and international standing. One thing, too, about it is not generally understood. It is not imperialist in the old sense of the word..."

*Same Source.

"PROBLEMS FOR THE LEAGUE"*#
"LORD LOTHIAN AND THE REAL DANGERS"

(1)"Lord Lothian, speaking at a Liberal rally at Scarborough yesterday, said:

"I am afraid I take a rather unfashionable view about the Abyssinian crisis. So far as it goes, I am entirely in favour of Sir Samuel Hoare's speech at Geneva.

"But if the crisis is not to develop into something far more dangerous we must, I think, deal much more vigorously with the other side of the problem. Italy, I think, has a case against us and against the League - a much better case than she has against Abyssinia."(1) "Neither we nor the League have yet faced the consequences of the tremendous changes which have come over the world since the War.

"In the last century there was practically free migration all over the world, and at least 50,000,000 people left Europe for the New World. In the last century there was practically free migration all over the world, and at

*Source: Entire speech as quoted in the London Times, 9/18/35.
#Between the numbers 1-1, 2-2, 3-3, etc., are intervening words not included in excerpts quoted in chapter 4 of the booklet "Lord Lothian vs. Lord Lothian."

least 50,000,000 people left Europe for the New World. In the last century there was in substance free trade in goods, foodstuffs, and capital all over the world. In the last century the British Fleet, being the only large Fleet, was the policeman of the seas. In consequence there was no world war for nearly a century, and few revolutions and dictatorships.

"To-day the nations are living in watertight compartments, with no migration and no freedom for trade, with the result that many of them have got into such tremendous population and economic difficulties that they have resorted to dictatorship to maintain order at home, and most of them are adding to their armaments in order to try to solve their internal problems by action in a foreign field."

(2)"Unless the League can deal, and deal quickly and effectively, with these tremendous questions the Abyssinian issue will be swallowed up by a war about far wider issues, just as the Serbian crisis was swallowed up by a war about far greater issues in 1914."(2) "If the League merely becomes an institution for stabilizing the status quo under threat of sanctions our last state will be much worse than our first. There will be two consequences.

"In the first place, all the dissatisfied Powers - and many of them quite legitimately dissatisfied - will leave the League, will remain dictatorships, and we shall get back to the old fatal alliance system, though one side will call itself the League and the other a combination to compel the League members to share the wealth and opportunity of the world with them.

"In the second place, Great Britain will find itself bound under the Covenant to go to war in order to maintain the status quo for everybody else - because everybody wants to get the British Navy behind their security - but without being able to compel the revision of treaties she may think justly needed."

(3)"These are the real dangers which are inherent in the present situation unless we make it clear that we and the League are willing to consider world problems, including Italy's problems, in a far bigger way than hitherto, as well as deal with unprovoked aggression."(3)

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*Same source.

## "'OPEN DOOR' IN ALL COLONIES"*#
## "LORD LOTHIAN ON ITALIAN NEEDS"

"...If the League is to prove to be no more than an instrument for expanding a local war into a general war between the great civilized Powers it is doomed...

"After the war we suddenly cut off almost all those forms of movement. We cramped the nations, many of them with rapidly expanding populations, into countries that were narrow, unproductive, and with few natural resources. Italy perhaps is the most conspicuous of those countries, Japan is another, and Germany will be to-morrow, and there will probably be others. It is no use pretending that the tremendous problems of the sudden stoppage of world movement do not exist. They are there, and unless we handle them firmly and wisely and in time they will explode in world war, whatever sanctions we create. It is the essential function of the League to deal with these questions, otherwise it

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*Source: London Times, 9/30/35.
#Between the numbers 1-1, 2-2, 3-3, etc., are intervening words not included in excerpts quoted in chapter 5 of the booklet "Lord Lothian vs. Lord Lothian."

will die, because we have allowed it to become an instrument not for settling grievances but for perpetuating a status quo which is every year becoming more difficult to justify.

"...Sir S. Hoare opened the door a little way when he proposed the question of access to raw materials for all nations, but that does not go nearly far enough. We have to go much farther in dealing with both Italy and Germany if we are to have lasting peace. The real questions are a substantial reduction in the tariffs and embargoes which create unemployment everywhere, so as to make possible a development of international trade; the collective reconsideration of the problem of migration; the revision of the War-time mandates, and collective consideration whether there could not be an open door in the colonial territories of all nations." (1)"These are the fundamental post-War problems, and the sooner we begin to discuss them the sooner we shall get away from this narrow head-on collision over Abyssinia which is rapidly becoming one between Italy and Great Britain. The League can mobilize formidable forces against aggression, but it must cease to be an instrument for the maintenance of the status quo and become an instrument by which the interests of all nations can be satisfied by peaceful means."(1)

*Same source.

## "GERMANY AND THE RHINELAND"*#

"The Locarno Treaty by which Germany accepted once more the demilitarisation of her Rhineland frontier zone was a treaty which she signed when reeling from a worse defeat than she had endured during the War, for the entry into the Ruhr probably did Germany more harm than her defeat in the War; it ruined the middle class, and raised the suicide rate to prodigious heights. Therefore, Germany feels that the Locarno Treaty, to a considerable extent, was also a dictated treaty, because it was the price she paid, and then willingly paid, as a guarantee against a second Ruhr occupation.

"It was inevitable that the signature of the recent Franco-Soviet military convention, together with the Czechoslovak-Soviet convention, should re-awaken in Germany all the old fears of encirclement - the fear that Germany might have to fight simultaneously a fully mobilised Russian army and a fully mobilised French army. The signature of that convention, inevitably as I think, made Germany feel that she could no longer keep open the back-door through which France had made the Ruhr invasion. A very distinguished British General, Sir Ian Hamilton, wrote to The Times only a few days ago, and said that Germany, from a military point of view, had escaped from a military embrace only just in time...

"Now a word about the immediate situation. My own view of it is that in the present crisis British public opinion says that Germany has essential justice on her side, that France has the law on her side, that we are in a particularly difficult position because we are guarantors of a one-sided treaty, and that above everything else we want to see negotiations started...

"In the long run Austria must be the judge of her own future. We cannot, and certainly will not go to war to perpetuate a system in which Austria is governed by the combination of Mussolini and the Pope. If Danzig, which is a German city, wants to rejoin Germany now that Poland has got Gdynia, it is not worth a war to prevent it. It would be wise for Poland to make some permanent

*Source: Special Supplement to International Affairs, London, 4/36, pp. 48 and 50.
#Between the numbers 1-1, 2-2, 3-3, etc., are intervening words not included in excerpts quoted in chapter 6 of the booklet "Lord Lothian vs. Lord Lothian."

arrangement for enabling Germany to have access to East Prussia while she has access to Gdynia. Something has got to be done about Memel." (1)"Colonies? They present a very difficult problem, because we are torn between two groups of which one says: 'Not an inch of British territory for anybody,' and the other says: 'I will never allow anybody for whom I am trustee to be under the control of repressive dictators like Mussolini or Hitler.' So you have a combination, right and left. Apart from that I think that most people would say that if you could find some corner of the earth that would satisfy the amour propre of Germany, which has no overseas possessions to-day, it would contribute towards peace if it were given to her. Our view would be, if we want to make peace let us first remove grievances. For if we remove grievances there would be some hope of Germany settling down and being a good neighbour, while there will be none if the grievances are not removed."(1)

"...We would not go to war about those questions in Eastern Europe concerning which the rest of Europe wants to build a sort of armed collective security system in order to maintain the status quo there.

"...I do not believe that we are prepared to go to war for questions in Eastern Europe, and therefore the sooner we make that clear to Europe the better for us, for Europe and for peace. Otherwise war will come and we shall be dragged into it exactly as we were in 1914. That is the real danger...

"But I am inclined to think that Europe will never make peace within herself until we leave her to do her own work. I am not sure that Europe might not come to peace if it were made quite clear that no group in Europe could hope for a military alliance with us, that we were not concerned in that aspect of the European game at all.

"...the United States has made up her mind, once and for all, that her intervention in Europe in 1917 was a waste of effort, that somehow or other Europe must solve her own problems and that she is not going to be associated, in any way, with European commitments..."

*Same source, pp. 50, 51, 53, 54, 56 and 60.

"FUTURE OF THE LEAGUE"*#

"Take the case of Germany. Now that Japan had found her outlet in China - an aggression which, he thought, would ultimately fail of its own weight - and that Italy had found her outlet in Abyssinia, there was only one question left which might disturb the peace of the world, the German question. If that could be solved peacefully he thought they could feel assured of 25 years' peace, during which those moral elements which were the real strength of the League might have time to grow. As Admiral Mahan once said, 'The function of force is to give moral ideas time to take root.'

"There was still, he thought, justice to be done to Germany, and by some readjustment in Eastern Europe - say in Austria and Danzig - and by giving her openings in the economic field oversea. But they had got to make concessions to Germany because they were just, and not because they were extorted at the point of the sword or the bomb." (1)"Could they get agreement with the other members of the League both about the concessions which ought to be made to Germany if she was to settle down in peace, and as to the point at which they should all say together: 'If you try to get more, by force or threat, it is war'? That was the

*Source: London Times, 6/27/36.
#Between the numbers 1-1, etc., are intervening words not included in excerpts quoted in chapter 7 of the booklet "Lord Lothian vs. Lord Lothian."

immediate issue before them.

"Finally, before they took up their position they had to be certain that if war came they could win it, and win it quickly. If the League was to continue the first thing it would need was a first-class General Staff to advise both on the military aspect of sanctions and on the military consequences of any policy the League might adopt. And, he was afraid, it would also have to contrive some new and better system of diplomacy."(1)

*Same source.

"ENGLAND AND GERMANY"*#

"But in practice the high hopes raised by those ideas were gradually nullfied by three things. The first was that, as was almost inevitable at the end of four years' war-time propaganda, the terms imposed upon Germany and her associates were too severe. They did not conform to that justice which must be the basis for lasting order and peace. Some penalty for defeat was inevitable. But some of the new national frontiers, especially in Eastern Europe, did not conform to majority lines. A fantastic burden of reparations was placed upon Germany. Her colonies, conquered during the war, were not restored. Germany was permanently disarmed and her western frontier was permanently demilitarised, while her late enemies were left in possession of their full rights both to arm and to organise their defence. It was clear, even in 1919, as Woodrow Wilson said, that the future tranquillity of Europe depended on whether the League of Nations could remodel the Peace Treaty in the interests of reason and justice as the effect of war-time propaganda wore off. But this, for reasons to be given later, it was unable to do.

"The second main reason for the failure of the settlement of 1919 was an almost total disregard of economics. Just as the Vienna Congress in 1815 ignored nationality which eventually blew their settlement to pieces, so the Paris Conference ignored the effect on the world of the increase in the number of sovereign States in Europe, each with full power to put tariffs round themselves, and of war debts and reparations. It has been the division of the world into watertight economic compartments burdened by heavy international debt obligations, both public and private, which has been the main cause of the high tariffs, quotas, and exchange restrictions which have produced the chronic unemployment, the social distress, the revolutionary movements, either from the right or from the left, the overthrow of democracy, and the return to authoritarian government, in so many countries, since 1920.

"The third and perhaps most serious tragedy since 1920 has been the failure of the League of Nations..."

(1)"Finally, the mandate system fell short of what was originally planned. The ex-German and Turkish colonial possessions were the only ones brought under the system."(1)

"What is to happen now? That is the central question which confronts the statesmanship of the nations. The greatest danger of the moment is that we shall drift back to a new rival alliance system. The dangers of this were very visible to Bismarck, who successfully managed to prevent Europe becoming imprisoned within it from 1870 to 1890. The danger arises from the fact that once the double alliance system has become formed the control of policy tends to pass out of the hands both of individual members of the alliance and of each alliance

*Source: Nineteenth Century and After, Vol. CXXI, Jan. - June, 1937, pp. 578-581.
#Between the numbers 1-1, 2-2, 3-3, etc., are intervening words not included in excerpts quoted in chapter 8 of the booklet "Lord Lothian vs. Lord Lothian."

itself. Thus in the crisis of 1914 Germany was largely at the mercy of the diplomacy of Austria-Hungary, and France and England at the mercy of Russia...

"For some time a large number of people in both Germany and England believed that a free discussion between our two countries would fairly easily find a basis of agreement. They welcomed the idea because an agreement between Germany and England would mean the peace of the world. But such a discussion has never taken place. Why? Some people think it is because of the opposition of France and Russia. I do not think so. I think there is a more substantial reason. It is because there does not at present seem to be a sufficient agreement as to the fundamentals of a solution to make a discussion possible or fruitful...

"There are a great many people in England who think that the easiest solution of the economic problem for Germany would be special economic arrangements in Central Europe. Germany and the smaller countries to the east and south are largely economically correlative, and the present excessive economic sub-division of Eastern Europe cannot be permanent...

"If Germany and her eastern neighbours would create an association on the British or American model, the main economic problem of the day would be far on the way to solution. Germany would have an economic zone not unlike that of the other great Powers. She would, too, move towards the Anglo-American group. Encirclement would end. The security both of Germany and France would be assured. The colonial question would be soluble..."

*Same source: pp. 581, 583, 584 and 588.

"PREVENTING A WORLD WAR"*#

(1)"Speaking at the Reform Club, Manchester, last night, Lord Lothian said that there was grave danger both to the League of Nations and to peace if either became identified with the theory of collective security. The fundamental idea of the League of Nations was that it should endeavour, by peaceful means, to solve international disputes and remove the causes of war. But to-day the League had no power to revise out-of-date treaties, to limit economic nationalism, or to lower armaments, the three main causes of war.

"Automatic sanctions, therefore," said Lord Lothian, "are simply an obligation to go to war to maintain the status quo. Moreover"(1)"until the League is once more universal in membership the theory of collective security combines all the most dangerous features of the old alliance system. It inevitably means the gradual organization of all the nations of Europe and Asia into two great military alliances, one of which seeks to break through the strait-waistcoat, economic and political, in which the world has been since 1920, and the other of which is committed to go to war to prevent any change to which any one of its members does not agree."

(2)"That system may postpone a war for a little, but means that when it does break out it must instantly become a world war of the most ferocious and totalitarian kind."(2) "By far the most serious problem which confronts the statesmanship of the world to-day is to find the method whereby a local war or crisis of power politics does not inexorably spread until it becomes another universal war - by far the greatest calamity that can befall mankind. If you cannot prevent a war it is far better to isolate it than to spread it into a world war, which is precisely what the system of collective security,

*Source: London times, 2/24/37.
#Between the numbers 1-1, 2-2, 3-3, etc., are intervening words not included in excerpts quoted in chapter 9 of the booklet "Lord Lothian vs. Lord Lothian."

if adopted, is bound to do.

"...If the theory of collective security got us into another European war, what should we be fighting for? We should be fighting to maintain the anarchy of Europe, which is Europe's fundamental bane. I do not think that is a cause which was worth 1,000,000 British lives.

"...In great measure it" (Fascism) "was rebellion against the discriminations of the Treaty of Versailles and the economic barriers which since the War had shut all nations, except Russia, the United States, and ourselves, who had immense areas under our control, from the markets of the rest of the world and especially from colonial markets..."

*Same source.

"SPEECH IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS"*#

"...I venture to think that if Europe could become normal the chances of world war would be extremely small. It is Europe which is the main focus, the main centre from which the threat of war throughout the world now springs; and the fundamental reason for that is not the ambition or the malignity of any particular race or people, it is the fact that to-day it is divided into twenty-six sovereign States. The difficulties of Europe are far greater to-day than they were in 1914. Then there were seventeen sovereign States, now there are twenty-six, and I do not think in considering the problem of Europe you should ever lose sight of the fact that anarchy lies at the root of its troubles...

"It seems to me that the recent argument for collective security - that is, the argument that the nations who are satisfied with the status quo, the nations which want to prevent any alterations, should enter into something like a military alliance in order that they may be overwhelmingly and collectively stronger than any nation that seeks to alter the status quo - is nothing else than the modernisation of what in my view has been the fatal policy which has been maintained by the French Government ever since 1920. That is a policy which in the first fifteen years of peace concentrated on keeping Germany without arms and encircled, and which is now concerned in building up a system of armed alliances about it, a policy, I may add, for which we and the United States of America must bear our full share of blame,...This new alliance system, now ennobled by the phrase 'collective security,' began with the military alliances between France and the Little Entente and Poland. It has now been extended to Russia by the Treaty of Mutual Assistance between France and Russia, a Treaty which has its duplicate or its parallel in the Treaty between Czechoslovakia and Russia. That is one side of the alliance system. Inevitably, as has always happened in the past and as under any system in which alliances are involved between sovereign States always will happen in the future, that system has begun to produce an alliance system on the other side. It produced what is called the Rome-Berlin axis, it produced the Anti-Comintern Agreement between Germany and Japan.

"...and in the end we go from one crisis to another, like the Algeciras crisis, the Agadir crisis, the Bosnia-Herzegovina crisis, the Balkan crisis until finally we get to a state of tension in a world knit by alliances, so that by accident a fool or a knave presses the button which lets off a world war in its most violent, totalitarian and savage form...

"Really if you took sides in that ideological conflict, as it is called,

*Source: Parliamentary Debates, House of Lords, Vol. 104, London, 1937, pp. 392-5.
#Between the numbers 1-1, 2-2, 3-3, etc., are intervening words not included in excerpts quoted in chapter 10 of the booklet "Lord Lothian vs. Lord Lothian."

which is rising in Europe, the only result would be that if we ever did become involved in such a conflict we should be split inside this country from top to bottom. I think that argument for collective security can only produce as the inevitable result both war and confusion at home.

"Finally, there are those people whose ideas are based upon fear of Germany. There are people, old diplomats, high officials, public men, who seem to be convinced that because Germany is largely isolated, with a population of more than 70,000,000 people, because it has a totalitarian Government - that Government itself the product of the policy of its neighbours, including ourselves, in great measure - with a country to the East whose armaments are at least three times as great as those of Germany, Germany is considering an attack on the peace of Europe and the liberty of its neighbours. I confess that when you consider that Germany occupies the most dangerous position in Europe, that she has no natural frontiers, that modern air services mean that she is more liable to be destroyed than any other nation, indefinitely more liable than ourselves, I think the German fear is to a large extent a bogey. I do not say that Germany is easy to deal with - I do not think she is - but that we should drift into a policy which, in effect, says that the only way of dealing with Germany is to surround her in such a way, both economically and politically, that an internal explosion is inevitable, is to condemn ourselves and the world to world war. It is the most fatal policy of all.

"While that policy is seldom publicly avowed, you have not to go very far before you find that it exists in the minds of a considerable number of people in this country...

"And if we did get embroiled, what should we be fighting for, generally speaking? The only possible cause we could be fighting for would be to insist on the maintenance of the anarchy of Europe; that Europe should remain divided into twenty-six States each with tariffs to the skies and armed to the teeth. I venture to think that that is not a cause for which it is worth laying down the lives of British men...

"I do not think pacifism can solve the problem, for the reason that it does not create the conditions upon which alone peace is possible, which is the maintenance of government.

"I venture to ask whether there is not a third policy, directed, I confess, mainly to the supreme question of deciding whether it is not possible to create a system which, in the conditions of to-day, may not end all war but can prevent local wars spreading into world wars - which is the real calamity which besets mankind; whether it is not possible to do more than we are now thinking of doing to isolate wars instead of spreading them into universal wars, as I think the system of collective security would inevitably do...The question is whether you cannot apply the system which we have adopted with considerable success in the case of Spain to Europe and if necessary to the Far East - non-commitment to either side, and non-intervention.

"But there is more also to be said for the American attitude to Europe. I spent some time there, and I found that the fundamental problem is this. The root of the trouble in Europe is the fact that in an area no larger than the United States it is trying still to live as twenty-six States. We found in this country that until we united the Crowns and the Parliaments there was no order,

*Same source: pp. 395, 396, 399, 400 and 401.

no prosperity, no peace. Canada found that, until it united its ten Provinces, it could get no order and no peace. So did Australia, so did South Africa, and so of course - in the greatest instance of all - did the great American Commonwealth. All the English peoples have realised in practice as well as in theory that until we overcame the boundary created by sovereignty we could have neither order, prosperity nor peace, and they say in America that that is the fundamental problem which confronts Europe. They say: 'Did our intervention solve the European problem last time? No. We may have been to some extent to blame for not joining the League of Nations, but the League of Nations itself could not solve Europe's problems. They can only be solved by Europe itself.' The United States will only intervene if Europe breaks out into the rest of the world so as to threaten the interests at any rate of the Monroe system.

"...What matters is that we should not be drawn into any form of alliance system or counter-alliance system. I venture to think that if we withdraw from Europe, it is the best contribution we can possibly make to the peace of Europe to-day. Anybody who has any familiarity with what is going on in Europe knows that the central question in European diplomacy to-day is whether Great Britain can be drawn in on either side. I think the day we make it perfectly clear that in no circumstances will we be drawn into the conflict between Fascism and Communism, or any of the other domestic conflicts of Europe, we shall take the greatest step we can take to induce the nations of Europe to come to terms, to reduce their tariffs, and to make a lasting peace.

"...democracy itself will not be able to stand another world war. To fight it you will have to abandon your Parliamentary system and the financial needs could not be met by ordinary democratic methods. I venture most earnestly to suggest to the Government that they should give more attention to this method of preventing world war than perhaps they have hitherto done."

*Same source: pp. 401 and 403.

"THE LEAGUE CONTRACT"*#

"I am not against collective action by the League against an international wrong. Quite the contrary. But such action must be subject to two conditions. The first is that we do not direct it to the maintenance of a status quo which is out of date, but recognize that changes are both just and necessary and that unless the League can bring about these changes by its own action they will inevitably and rightly be brought about in other ways. That may seem a hard saying, but I believe it is common sense because otherwise we shall find ourselves pledged to go to war to prevent change everywhere...

"If we consider the three great failures of the League, the reasons are clear. In the case of Europe it has been because the League was utterly unable to do justice to Germany while she was a Republic...It is perfectly obvious that considerable adjustments will be necessary in the world if it is to enjoy stable peace. I believe that if we get away from legalism, are strong, are willing to be just and to face realities, and relate our policy to our strength and our willingness to make sacrifices for it, there is a good chance that these adjustments can be made without war and without international injustice, whereas to stand by the letter of the Covenant will be as likely to drive us to that calamity of world war which every nation wishes to avoid, as the policy of the 'left' coalition."

*Source: London Times, 9/10/37.

"THE ISSUES IN BRITISH FOREIGN POLICY"*#

"The Treaty of Versailles, as you all remember, was based on the thesis of the sole guilt of Germany. There was a clause in that Treaty which compelled Germany to admit her guilt, and it was from that admission of guilt that the legalistic French mind justified a great many of the decisions which have since been operating in Europe. I am not going to argue the War-guilt case here and now, except to express my own conviction, having read a great many books about the origins of the War, that the doctrine of the sole guilt will not hold water at all. If anyone wants to study that question in the briefest possible compass I commend them to an extraordinarily interesting report published in the American Historical Review, of January last," (1)"which is to be found in this Institute. The report was compiled by a committee of four German historians and four French historians, who for some years have been engaged, partly by correspondence and partly by direct meetings, in trying to reach as many agreed conclusions as possible as to the diplomatic quarrels which have divided France and Germany for the last hundred years, with the object of getting the history books of both countries freed from the grosser perversions of fact and nearer to something like a common view of what actually happened. You may have very different opinions as to the degree of responsibility, but if you read this report you will see that the simple view upon which the Versailles Treaty was juridically founded, and which most people still believe, does not now hold water."(1)

"Of course the War was just an episode, a very important episode, in the collision of forces which go to make up human history. It was partly the result of a conflict which has reappeared since the War, the conflict between what are called the late comers and the early comers, the Haves and the Have-Nots. Germany then, as now, was a late comer." (2)"It was partly the outcome of the historic conflict between Slav and Teuton for control over or predominant influence in the Balkans. It was partly the result of anarchy in Europe, the division of Europe into seventeen sovereign States, a division which the League of Nations was intended to overcome, because the fundamental thesis underlying the League of Nations is that it is impossible to end war unless we begin to get unity and some collective reign of law in the world. Finally, the most immediately decisive cause of the War was the military time-table. The reason why, following the ultimatum which Austria sent to Serbia after the assassination of Franz Ferdinand, to the surprise of everybody and without anybody deliberately pressing the button for it, the whole world was plunged into war in less than fourteen days is to be found in the military time-table which anarchy imposed on Europe in the unsettled conditions of that time. There is no option, therefore, but to dismiss the doctrine of the sole guilt of Germany for the War.

"Coming now to the Versailles period, you will find that what happened at Paris was two fundamentally contradictory things. On the one hand,"(2) "there was the peace settlement made by the victorious democracies, and believe me democracies can get as wrong-headed about foreign affairs as anybody else, especially after having been influenced for four years by war-time propaganda. As a result of the beliefs we all had at that time about the origins of the War there was a very stiff Peace Treaty. I do not think anybody disputes that now. Germany lost all her colonies and all her foreign investments, one seventh of her European territory was taken away, she was unilaterally disarmed, the Rhineland was demilitarised and quite fantastic reparations were placed upon

*Source: International Affairs, Vol. XVII, 1938, pp. 360, 361 and 362.
#Between the numbers 1-1, 2-2, 3-3, etc., are intervening words not included in excerpts quoted in chapter 14 of the booklet "Lord Lothian vs. Lord Lothian."

her back. There are few people who to-day think the Treaty was a perfectly fair and balanced interpretation of the Fourteeen Wilsonian Points upon which the Armistice was signed." (3)"That was one side of what happened in 1919, a stiff treaty of peace. The other was the aspect of the settlement which has mostly filled the mind of Great Britain, the attempt to bring into being a new international order represented by the League of Nations, whereby we were to substitute pacific means for the solution of international disputes for warlike means, to create a system of orderly investigation before nations would be justified in resorting to war, and to create a system of economic sanctions to compel use of these pacific methods for investigating and settling international disputes, before there was resort to war.

"Those were the two main results of the War."(3) "But what is not, I think, generally realised is that what followed the War was far more fatal, at any rate in its consequences for Europe, than what was actually done at Versailles. Because, whatever you may say about the Big Three, Lloyd George, Wilson and Clemenceau, they were wiser men than perhaps most people would now admit, and they knew quite well that they were imposing upon Germany terms of peace which would have to be revised. It was impossible in their view to be more moderate at that time because the Peace Conference consisted of some twenty nations excited by four years of fighting and bitter losses, misled, if you like, by war-time propaganda, and there was no possibility of re-educating the democracies in the six months which lay between the Armistice and the signing of the Peace Treaties. But they did provide means which they believed would bring about a revision of the Versailles terms in our time. Indeed, in recommending the Covenant to the plenary session of the Peace Conference, Woodrow Wilson made it quite clear that in his view one of the first duties of the League would be to undertake the revision of the work then being done at Paris.

"...Clemenceau came to Lloyd George and Wilson and said: 'You Anglo-Saxons believe in allowing Germany to recover. You believe in this new-fangled institution the League of Nations which we Frenchmen have not much confidence in as security. We believe that the Germans are much safer people dead than alive, and that the best way of securing the peace of the world against a renewal of war by Prussia is to divide it up, at any rate to separate the Rhineland from the rest of Prussia.' That was the thesis put to the Anglo-Saxon Powers by M. Tardieu at the beginning of the Conference when he was acting for M. Clemenceau...

"So she" (France) "built up her system of alliances in Eastern Europe, the main purpose of which was to enforce the Treaty of Versailles, especially by the unilateral disarmament of Germany and the demilitarisation of the Rhineland, which left Germany militarily at her mercy and was the real basis of European peace during all the years when the League was at its zenith.

"...You then had Sir Austen Chamberlain's great effort to bring about an appeasement which culminated in the Locarno Treaty. But the Locarno Treaty was never followed up. And it could never have been a lasting basis of peace because it rested on the assumption that Germany would be willing indefinitely to accept a position in which she was disarmed while her neighbours were armed and her frontier was to be left open so that at any moment she might have to endure, without being able to resist it, a new invasion of the Ruhr. Whatever you may think about subsequent events, no sensible people can believe that such an arrangement was voluntarily accepted by Germany as part of a permanent and normal international system. You can imagine what we would have said had we been put in that position...Finally, you had the disastrous action, as I think

(3)Same source: pp. 362, 363, 365 and 366.

it, of Sir John Simon in revising the preliminary agreement about disarmament made in the spring of 1933 between Germany and the allies, when he went to Geneva in October and proposed that effective movement towards disarmament should be postponed for four years in order to give Germany a period of what was then called trial, and M. Paul-Boncour jumped up and said: 'Yes, and at the end of four years what we do must depend on the political circumstances of the time.' This it was which precipitated the final withdrawal of Germany from the League of Nations and gave her an excuse for rearmament contrary to the Treaty..."

(4)"Nobody who had contacts with Stresemann during those years, still more with Bruning, will forget the way in which they came and said: 'Unless you make some concession to the Republic now, nothing can prevent Germany yielding to those who say that you can get nothing from the Allies by appeals to justice. You can only get your freedom by strength and violence.' Bruning came over and over again, but for various reasons, quite easy to understand, nothing was done. And therefore there eventually came into being a regime which believes that the method of attaining not only internal unity and strength, but also all international ends, is force. Yet the hideous internal persecution and repression of all who will not bow to the regime is, in great measure, only the outcome of the presecution and repression which were inflicted on Germany for fifteen years from outside."(4)

"...I have felt for the last three years that the most imperative thing was to go and to have a real talk with the Germans as to what the basis of a lasting peace should be. Perhaps it was because I felt that they had legitimate grievances which had to be removed before there could be peace. But I felt also that the time to negotiate with Germany was when Hitler was offering to be content with an army of two hundred or three hundred thousand men or an Air Force half that of France or one third of the neighbouring Air Forces, whichever was the smaller. That was the time to negotiate. But what stood in the way? That Great Britain was committed to the support of the reign of law and the sanctity of the Paris system of treaties through the League of Nations." (5)"It was therefore quite impossible for any British Government to go to Hitler and to say: 'We are prepared to agree to this fundamental change, in rearmament or the Rhineland or Austria, or to stand aside if you force the issue,' because they were committed to defend the status quo under Article XVI of the Covenant of the League of Nations and because to agree to such changes would have involved them in quarrels with the other members of the League. If you consider it you will see that that is what made any discussion so difficult.

"Then there is another aspect of the present situation which we have got to recognise."(5) "The whole post-War attitude of the Allies, of the small nations and France and the Great Powers, has been an attempt to stem one of the vital forces of history." (6)"Nationalism is probably the most potent political force of the modern world. It has been immensely stimulated in recent years by the challenge of Communism. It is proving itself much more powerful than class. I think that if you put the two in rivalry, nationalism will always defeat class, which is one of the reasons, though not the only reason, why Fascism, I think, does in practice beat Communism. Fascism is not, as the Marxists say, merely the final incarnation of capitalism. It is something far more dynamic. It is nationalism protesting against an inadequate status quo."(6)

"And now Hitler, by methods which we cannot help deploring because of the shock they give elsewhere, has at last realised the dream of the German people - the dream they have dreamed for three hundred years, to be a united people, as Italy is a united people, and France is a united people and England is a united people and every other race in Europe is a united people except the Germans.

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*Same source: pp. 366, 368 and 369.

Thus the whole Versailles Settlement was not only 'stiff,' but was turned against what is, I think, the most powerful political movement of the time, the urge towards racial and national unity." (7)"You saw evidence of this underlying tendency in 1921, when a plebiscite was held in the Tyrol in which a hundred and forty-four thousand voted for union with Germany and seventeen hundred against it. In another plebiscite in Salzburg a hundred and three thousand voted for union with Germany and eight hundred against it. Almost the last act of Chancellor Bruning was to say: 'Give me the Anschluss and I may be able to save my country from yielding to the National Socialists.' And that was denied because of a manoeuvred political decision by the International Court at the Hague. So that I cannot help feeling that we (by we I mean the dominant Allied Powers) are largely responsible for the situation that confronts us to-day."(7) "If another war comes and the history of it is ever written, the dispassionate historian a hundred years hence will say not that Germany alone was responsible for it, even if she strikes the first blow, but that those who mismanaged the world between 1918 and 1937 had a large share of responsibility for it. I say this unpalatable thing because I think it is necessary to a balanced view and is a corrective to the natural instinct of hatred and indignation which springs up when we see what is going on."

(8)"Now I come to what really interests everybody to-day: What are we going to do now? Personally I think that a fundamentally new situation has been created by the incorporation of Austria in National Socialist Germany. I have long thought it was inevitable, especially as the only alternative, a Danubian federation, was blocked, thought I did not think it was inevitable that it should be done in the violent way in which it has been done. I do not think it is worth discussing who was responsible for recent events."(8) "There is no doubt that Hitler and his party were determined sooner or later to absorb the Germans of Austria and whether, if Schuschnigg had played his cards better, it might have been possible to arrive at a slower and gentler method I will leave the historian to decide. But you can now say that the fundamentals of the German case, the unity of the German people in a strong independent state, fundamentals which it was extraordinarily difficult to get recognised by consent, have now been won by rapid and unilateral action...

"I think we have squandered the authority of the League by trying to use collective security for purposes which were fundamentally unjust, for denying its natural rights to Germany. While we were doing this five of the Great Powers have gone outside the League, and a good many more members, while still members of it, are clearly going to remain neutral if they can if war comes..." -

*Same source: pp. 369- 371.

"THE REIGN OF LAW"*#

"...To talk about going to war to enforce international law illustrates the confusion of thought which now exists, for the very first object of the 'reign of law' is to substitute police action against the individual for war as the sanction behind law. We have had experience of one vast war fought by a collection of democracies from 1914 to 1918 to defend freedom against autocracy and to maintain the sanctity of treaties. Most people now feel that while the cause was just the remedy was almost as fatal as the disease, and that a war for the principle of the League of Nations is not likely to produce ultimately more satisfactory results than a war for Woodrow Wilson's 14 points, which included

*Source: London Times, 7/18/38.
#Between the numbers 1-1, 2-2, etc., are intervening words not included in excerpts quoted in chapter 15 of the booklet "Lord Lothian vs. Lord Lothian."

the League of Nations."

(1)"Moreover, in the present anarchy of sovereignties, which the Covenant does not touch"(1) "the diplomatic card which Great Britain, by reason of its worldwide position, so often is asked to play, if it is always to be faithful to principle, is a card which if it is taken up spells world war. To throw down the gage may prevent war or international injustice, but it also, as often before in history, may let loose world war. Yet it is quite certain that morality does not require us to call upon our own countrymen or other people to pay the price of world war to prevent relatively minor injustices, atrocities, or breaches of justice. Mankind is not going to be benefited by multiplying carnage and destruction a thousandfold for the sake of questions which will immediately be swallowed up in the vast and catastrophic issues which will be raised by general war..."

(2)"It is only necessary to look at Europe with its 25 States, 25 armies, 25 frontiers, and 25 foreign policies to see what is the main fountain of international unrest, unemployment, and the ideological conflict in the world."(2)

*Same source.

"AMERICA AFTER MUNICH"*#

"...On the one hand we have the title to Mr. Quincy Howe's now famous book, 'England expects every American to do his duty.' This represents the inveterate suspicion in the United States that every British proposal is designed to induce the United States to underwrite British interests - a suspicion which rests on the fact that Anglo-American co-operation obviously operates to the benefit of the British Commonwealth and not so obviously to the benefit of the United States." (1)"On the other hand is the statement attributed to the 'Montreal Gazette' during the Munich crisis that 'The United States will fight for democracy to the blood of the last Englishman.' This represents very well the instinctive reaction of the average Briton the combination of moral censure with a national policy of neutrality.

"But it is well for us to remember that the present American attitude is exactly that of Great Britain herself during her own period of 'splendid isolation.' We always insisted on standing uncommitted on the side lines of the European conflict, until a menace to our own interests compelled us to intervene."(1) "We long ago realised that the best and cheapest way of assuring our own security was to encourage other nations to fight for their own security, and when there was doubt as to their ability to do so by themselves to assist them with finance and, if necessary, with arms."

*Source: The Observer, 2/26/39.
#Between the numbers 1-1 are intervening words not included in excerpts quoted in chapter 17 of the booklet "Lord Lothian vs. Lord Lothian."

# GERMANY AND THE PEACE OF EUROPE[1]

THE MOST HON. THE MARQUESS OF LOTHIAN, C.H.

I DO not think it open to dispute that there is only one question which threatens world peace or which might lead to world war, and that is the German question. If Germany were not in her present frame of mind, if she had not got, as I think still, certain legitimate complaints against the Treaty of Versailles, there would be no risk of world war. There would be risks of local wars, but they I think could be managed. But for this German question there would be no risk of the world becoming divided into two great alliances, each of them being, at any rate in theory, relatively as strong as the other. Is Germany fundamentally responsible for the situation in which we find ourselves to-day? Or is the Versailles settlement still at the root of the trouble? Has Germany, in other words, still a case against the rest of the world on the basis of justice, leaving out of account for the moment the question of the policy of the Nazi régime and whether it is possible to deal with Germany so long as she is under that régime?

Now the Versailles settlement was based on the theory of the sole responsiblity of Germany for the Great War. I do not think anybody who has made a serious study of pre-War history, or even of the events which immediately preceded the War, can hold that view to-day. The pre-War history is a long one. It goes back to the Morocco-Egyptian settlement between England and France, and to the French advance on Fez which precipitated that series of German moves which did so much to divide the world. In my view Germany had more responsibility for the War than anybody else, for two reasons: first of all because of her challenge to the British fleet—at one time she put down a programme of building ultimately involving a fleet greater than the then British fleet; secondly because of her belief in and practice of what are called her politics by force, diplomacy by force. On the other hand, nobody has ever yet suggested that Germany was responsible for the assassination of Franz Ferdinand, which precipitated the crisis. Further, what finally made war inevitable, according to the strategic facts known to every one at that time, was the

[1] Address given at Chatham House on June 29th, 1937: Major-General Sir Neill Malcolm, K.C.B., D.S.O., in the chair.



mobilisation of the Russian armies, which inevitably brought into play the Schlieffen Plan. Moreover, I do not think that anybody who is a believer in the general thesis underlying the establishment of the League of Nations can fail to recognise that the fact that Europe was divided into seventeen sovereign States, and the rest of the world into a great many more without any form of international organisation, created a constant predisposition, a constant provocation, towards war. Therefore, I do not think it is possible to say that Germany was alone responsible for the War.

By the end of the War, however, as a result of the opinions which we formed during the War, on very inadequate material, supplemented by war-time propaganda (which is largely directed to maintaining the unity and morale of one's own countrymen by proving that we are wholly right and the enemy wholly wrong), we had convinced ourselves that Germany was solely responsible for the disaster, and the Treaty of Versailles was based on that principle. On the strength of it Germany was deprived of one-seventh of her European territory; she was deprived of her colonies; she was unilaterally disarmed, and she was compelled to demilitarise the Rhineland, which meant, in effect, that at any time a French army could march into the vital Rhineland region and reduce Germany to paralysis. In addition, there was placed upon her a burden of reparations for which I do not suppose to-day there is a single advocate; impossible reparations leading in their turn to impossible claims for war debts.

Even so, what actually happened to Germany after 1918 was a great deal worse than what had been planned by the Big Four, Lloyd George, Clemenceau, Orlando, and Wilson, at the meetings of the Council of Four in Paris. Two vital features of the Versailles settlement were never carried out. The first was that the United States should be a member of the League of Nations and a member of the Reparations Commission. The second was that the United States and Great Britain should give to France a joint guarantee against unprovoked aggression by Germany. We can all estimate to-day the tragic consequences of the refusal of the United States to accept membership of the League of Nations. The abstention of the United States from the Reparations Commission was much more serious, because the appointment of the Reparations Commission was the method finally adopted by Lloyd George and Clemenceau (after they had made up their minds that in the then temper of British and French opinion it was not possible to reduce the reparations claim against Germany to anything like a moderate

figure) for achieving sanity later on. While the bill against Germany was almost unlimited a Reparations Commission was appointed, of which the United States was to be chairman, to determine, as one of its duties, Germany's capacity to pay. Mr. Lloyd George has always declared, and I think with justice, that had the United States remained a party to the Versailles Treaty, had her nominee been chairman of the Reparations Commission, it would have been possible as the war-time temper lessened, on the one hand, to scale down the claims against Germany to moderate figures on the basis of her capacity to pay and to make transfers, and, on the other hand, to relate war debts to reparations. But the withdrawal of the United States led to the Reparations Commission being dominated by France, who held not only the chairmanship, but a double vote, a first vote and a casting vote, so that the Reparations question went from one tragedy to another, until it was finally wiped out by the depression, as was later the case with war debts.

The failure of the Anglo-American Treaty of guarantee to France was in my view even more tragic. That treaty would not only have given security to France, who had, in effect, been defeated by Germany twice in fifty years, but would have enabled the United States and Great Britain to insist on a reasonable revision of the Versailles settlement in the interests of the German Republic, since it would have made it possible for them to say that they could not maintain that guarantee unless the French in return were willing to adopt revisions which might have led to a final settlement in Europe. The result of the breakdown of the Anglo-American Treaty of Guarantee was that France fell back upon an almost inevitable alternative, the alternative of insisting in the first place on the maintenance for as long as possible of all the unilateral discriminations against Germany, notably disarmament and the demilitarisation of the Rhineland, and, secondly, of building up overwhelming military preponderance behind the Treaty of Versailles, by her own armaments and by alliances with the countries of the Little Entente and with Poland; with the result that the post-War stability of Europe was based not upon the League of Nations, but on the possession by France and her allies of overwhelming military superiority over an unilaterally disarmed Germany. Great Britain shares that tragic responsibility, for we did not offer our own guarantee to France until her alternative alliances were made, and because, on the strength of France's armaments and the armaments of her allies in the East of Europe, [illegible] seeking to disarm ourselves,



and to live the easy, or relatively easy, life until the advent of the Hitler regime forced us to look at realities once more. But the principal victim of the withdrawal of the United States and of the lapse of the Treaty of Guarantee to France was Germany.

Yet Germany had to endure another series of tragic events. In 1922 there took place the invasion of the Ruhr, declared by the British Government at the time to be contrary to the Treaty of Versailles and an illegal act, which was inaugurated ostensibly on the grounds of a technical default by Germany in the delivery of certain categories of timber, but really because Poincaré had made up his mind that Germany would not fulfil the Treaty of Versailles except by violent compulsion. Yet the invasion of the Ruhr resulted in the increase in inflation which had been begun by the excessive demand for Reparations, and which finally wiped out the whole middle class in Germany and produced the National-Socialist Party. It created the body of men called the Ruhr fighters, who, instead of acquiescing, as the German government did, in the military occupation, began to fight the French among the slag heaps of the Ruhr. It was in the occupation of the Ruhr that the spirit of the National-Socialist movement, that is, the view that the way to liberty was not through negotiation but through strength, became established in Germany. Finally, came the depression which ended the hopes of the German Republic and brought Hitler to power. Had it not been for the depression, the Republic might have struggled through. But, in this case also, Germany was the principal victim of the Ruhr policy.

Then began another series, as I see it, of tragic events. In January 1933, Germany was promised equality in a régime of security. But after many negotiations to this end, Sir John Simon, after consultation with his French friends who were terrified by the advent of Hitler to power, announced at Geneva in October 1933 that, in effect, no practical steps in the direction of conceding equality to Germany could be taken for four more years, and M. Paul Boncour added in his speech that, even at the end of four years, it would be necessary to take the political situation into account. That statement was taken by Germany as a default on our promises, and as conclusive proof that the League was completely dominated by the victors of Versailles. So she left the League; and I have no doubt that if we had been treated in the same way we should have taken the same action. The episode led, none the less, to tragic results: on the one hand, it led to the unlimited rearmament by Germany and, on the other, to the conviction that what counts in international affairs is not

the force of your case, but the strength of your armaments. If any nation has had that conviction borne in on her it has been Germany, by everything that has happened to her from 1918 to 1933. She received nothing substantial in response to reason. She only began to recover her position in the world when she had begun to acquire the strength which enabled her to take her natural rights by unilateral action in defiance of the treaties. On the principle that any government that fails to remedy the serious grievances of its people in time must face revolution at home, I think it is true in international affairs that, unless a situation which causes a deep sense of injustice, resentment and grievance can be remedied by agreement, it will inevitably be remedied by unilateral action, or in the last resort by power diplomacy or war. There is no use in talking about the sanctity of treaties unless they are just treaties. That is why, when Germany violated the Treaty of Versailles by the unilateral re-militarisation of the Rhineland, the bulk of public opinion in Great Britain supported her on the not wholly unintelligent ground that, in a re-arming world, it was no use going to war to prevent a nation re-assuming the natural right, accorded to every other sovereign State, to defend its own frontiers.

Is there any doubt that if we put ourselves in the position of the Germans, leaving entirely out of account the existence of the Nazi régime, we should feel bitterly that we had been unjustly and badly treated ever since 1918, that we had just claims against the rest of the world, and that if we could not get our just rights by agreement we were entitled to take them back by force if we could do so? The first thesis upon which I want to found my argument, therefore, is that the fundamental cause of the German question, which lies at the root of the world's trouble to-day, is the Versailles settlement, and, still more, the train of events which followed the Versailles settlement.

The second and more difficult part of the problem is the fact that there is in Germany to-day a totalitarian government of a most formidable kind, produced, as I think, essentially by the treatment which Germany has received from her neighbours in the last fifteen or sixteen years. It is very easy to describe its defects from our point of view. It is ultra-nationalist. It is a nationalism based on belief in race as the product of blood and earth; a form of nationalism which we in Great Britain find it very difficult to understand or attach much importance to, in view of the complexity of our own human origin. It is based on the



complete and compulsory discipline of the whole population under the orders of a single leader for the avowed purpose of generating national strength. In order to increase national strength it indulges in forms of persecution, which are highly repellant to people in Great Britain, in order to eliminate those elements in Germany—Jews, Christians, pacifists and so on—which, in the view of the dominant party, seem to compromise or undermine national strength in time of stress. It relies, primarily, not on persuasion, but on violence as its method of dealing with its opponents, and on propaganda rather than free controversy as the method of forming the opinions of its people. In consequence it is subject to the same weaknesses and difficulties as every other totalitarian government of which history tells us and of which we have recently seen a most conspicuous example in Russia. The difficulty of totalitarian government as opposed either to traditional monarchy or democracy is this: under the democratic system the government can be changed whenever the majority of the people like to vote it out of power, and the use of police power to repress opinion is unnecessary. There is no need either for revolution or for violent expression. The old monarchical system had something of the same merit because when the hereditary monarch found he was becoming unpopular he dropped his prime minister into the *oubliette*, saying that everything was entirely his fault, and put a new prime minister in office. The régime itself was not challenged. The very essence of dictatorship, however, is that everything is done by the man at the top. He gets all the credit for everything that goes well, and therefore he cannot escape the blame for everything that goes badly. When any dictator is in power for any length of time and discontent begins to arise as it invariably does against any government which is long in office, he is faced with the necessity of suppressing every form of opinion which seems to challenge his authority, and as opinion becomes more vehement and especially as opposition appears among his own supporters he is driven back inevitably to killing and violence. It is inherent in the system, as is well described by Aristotle two thousand years ago. Now, these are the weaknesses, the defects and, what is important from our point of view, the dangers of the totalitarian system, which is not only based on violence and propaganda, and prone to use it, but is often under pressure to lessen internal difficulties by foreign adventure. As the ordinary man says: "Can you deal with a government based upon such principles? If you do deal with it, can you expect it to live up to the undertakings into which it has entered?"

On the other hand, I think it must be admitted that National-Socialism has done a great deal for Germany. It has undoubtedly cleaned up Germany in the ordinary moral sense of the word. The defeatism, the corruption so manifest a characteristic in the days after the War has disappeared, at any rate from public view. It has given discipline and order and a sense of purpose to the great majority of young people who in earlier days did not know where to go or what they were living for. It has got rid of open Communism. I do not think that Communism was a menace in the sense that it was ever in a position to seize power in Germany, but I think there is some truth in Hitler's view that once real Communism is established in a community it will either destroy the traditional form of government or must itself be destroyed, because you cannot reason with Communism. Communism is a religious movement which admittedly adopts violence as its technique, so that it can only be met by violence. National-Socialists say that at least they have given Germany peace, and have stopped the constant street fights and continual unrest arising out of the conflict between two violent movements raging up and down Germany. Communist violence may be considered preferable to Fascist violence, but once either gets really rooted in a country there will be no peace until either both are suppressed or one eats up the other. Unfortunately, too, Germany was afflicted by a disease from which Great Britain has never yet suffered, a multiplicity of parties in the Reichstag which could not be remedied by the ordinary electoral process. Election after election was fought, but the parties always came back substantially as numerous as before. I do not think it is possible for any country to have a strong government, a government which is capable of dealing either with international problems or with domestic problems, if it has to be based on the shifting sands of a multiplicity of parties. So, however much people may dislike National-Socialism, the fact must be faced that, in the eyes of the great majority of Germans, Hitler is a saviour, who has given them back international security and standing and internal order, employment and purpose.

Now how is one to deal with a Germany which, in my view, has claims against the rest of the world on the grounds of justice, claims which are the main cause of re-armament and international unrest, but which has a government which many people so respect that they feel that, if concessions are made to it which [illegible] will run that power as the



basis for fresh and unreasonable demands, backed, I do not say by war but by force, and so lead Europe from one difficulty to another? In order to answer that question I must first examine what I may call Germany's claims, or where, after as dispassionate an examination of the problem as possible, I think that revision of the *status quo* should be made in favour of Germany.

Let me deal first with Eastern Europe. Speaking very broadly, the German thesis of to-day is that she is entitled to self-determination in Central Europe. The War was fought for self-determination, and at the end of the War not only were certain groups of Germans like the Austrians forbidden to unite with Germany, but considerable numbers of Germans just outside the German frontiers were united with other countries. The Polish Corridor, though then largely peopled by Germans, was created, and severed Germany's connection with East Prussia. Cities like Danzig, which had always been German since the beginning of history, were cut away from Germany. Now, if the principle of self-determination were applied on behalf of Germany in the way in which it was applied against her, it would mean the re-entry of Austria into Germany, the union of the Sudetendeutsch, Danzig, and possibly Memel with Germany, and certain adjustments with Poland in Silesia and the Corridor. If that solution were adopted, especially if it were effected as a result of force, I think that most people would feel that the last state of Europe would be more serious and more difficult than the first. Yet the demand, in itself, is not wicked or absurd. Is there any alternative?

I do not propose to argue at the moment whether the alternative is practicable or not, but to consider what might be a soluti if everybody were reasonable. Is not the right basis for the solution of the situation in Eastern Europe—which obviously cannot continue indefinitely as fifteen or sixteen mutually suspicious sovereign States—the same kind of solution as that we have chosen in the British Commonwealth? Supposing, on the one hand, that Germany finally and irrevocably recognised the independence of all the nations of Eastern Europe, and, on the other, that the nations of Eastern Europe, in return for such recognition, came into what may be called the political and economic orbit of Germany, might not Europe settle down? Let me give an illustration from South Africa. The reason why the South African situation is tolerable to-day is not because the British in South Africa are highly delighted at being a minority, for they continually complain that the Dutch majority gets most

of the jobs and has a perpetual preponderance in the legislature. What makes the situation tolerable is that the Dutch majority has accepted, and now I think without serious reservation, membership of the British Commonwealth of Nations. In other words, South Africa is now in the general British orbit, and on the strength of that the British South Africans are loyal South Africans and accept a situation in which so far as one can see they will be permanently in the minority so far as political power is concerned, while the Dutch treat them fairly and without suspicion because they are loyal citizens. But supposing our Dutch friends, for whatever reason, decided to move into some other orbit, let us say the Japanese or the German orbit, the situation in South Africa, and the situation as between Great Britain and South Africa, would become almost impossible. The local British would say that they would not be used in support of an anti-British system, and the Dutch would begin to suspect their loyalty. Great Britain, on the other hand, would become extremely suspicious of every act of policy of the South African Government. Now that, as I see it, is the root of the difficulty in a country like Czechoslovakia. Czechoslovakia, because she is afraid of the future of her own independence, leans first on France and secondly on Moscow, and that means that the Germans in Czechoslovakia are unwilling to form part, wholeheartedly, of a State which is pursuing, in their view, an anti-German policy. The Czechs, therefore, are frightened to give to the Germans in Czechoslovakia the position in the State which the Dutch feel no difficulty at all in giving to the British in South Africa. If the German–Czechoslovak question could be solved in this way the whole European problem would change for the better. Similarly with other minority neighbours.

Then on the economic side there is a certain natural balance between the various countries of South-Eastern Europe and Germany. If political antagonism could be eliminated, economic arrangements could be made between the various States which would give to all of them a higher standard of living and far greater economic stability. And, provided it was done by agreement, I cannot see that vast Russia to the east or the satisfied colonial powers to the west ought to object. On the contrary, their greatest need is that Central Europe should settle down, and that is only possible, in my view, under German leadership.

The other main aspect of the German question is the colonial economic problem. When Dr. Schacht is presented with the usual British contention that colonies are not much use, that



really we get almost nothing from them, that they are a burden and a liability, and that we will do everything with them except give them up to anybody else, he replies that these considerations may have been true in pre-War days when the development of any colony depended on whether free capitalists thought that they could make a profit on using their capital for the purpose, but that the situation is very different to-day in a world of economic nationalism and universal governmental intervention in economic affairs. Unless the policy of Mr. Cordell Hull prevails, and I hope it will, unless Great Britain goes in much more vigorously than she has yet done for a reduction of international barriers to trade and for the "open door" in the colonies, we are faced with a world in which most countries are still moving in the direction of self-sufficiency. In such circumstances it is very difficult for any country, especially a manufacturing country, to acquire the foreign exchange with which it may buy raw materials or foodstuffs from other countries by the process of selling manufactured goods abroad, because no country is willing to receive manufactured articles in any considerable quantity; since it is the first principle of high protectionism to refuse to accept from abroad anything which can be manufactured at home. Dr. Schacht accordingly declares that, in these circumstances, the colonial problem becomes an entirely different matter. If a colonial area is included in the tariff zone of the mother country, and if the latter assumes the control of the trade of that colony with other countries, then the mother country can develop whatever natural resources the colony has with its own currency without first having to obtain foreign exchange. If the mother country wants to produce rubber or fats, or whatever it is, provided it can control the ingress and egress of trade with the colony concerned, it can provide for development with marks or pounds or francs, or whatever its national currency is; no doubt more expensively than the material could be bought elsewhere if foreign exchange could be obtained in the open market, but it can be done, so to speak, with the mother country's own money. Rubber plantations, or plantations that produce fat, can be developed with the national manufactures, local workers can be paid with the national currency, and they can be required to buy with that currency the produce of the mother country. Therefore, in these days, colonies have, economically, an entirely different significance from what they had in the freer conditions of the earlier capitalist age. Dr. Schacht goes on to say that, inasmuch as Germany is singularly deficient in raw materials and is not in a position even to

produce all her own foodstuffs, and since the greater part of the world has become economically highly nationalist, the colonial question is now very important, not only as a symbol of the restoration of German self-respect and the withdrawal of the accusation that she was unfit to have colonies, but as a vital element in her own economic system if she is to attain the standard of living which the rest of us think necessary for a civilised country. I think there is a great deal in Dr. Schacht's case. Colonies become important in proportion as economic nationalism dominates the world. If we cannot get back to freer trade, and even if we can, I would try to find, by mutual concession among colonial Powers, areas, say in Central West Africa or in the Pacific, where Germany could develop sources of supply of certain raw materials or tropical foodstuffs which she cannot produce at home.

Finally, there is the question of Germany's "place in the sun." It is a difficult question. It is largely concerned, I think, with the future of the League of Nations. The League, in Germany's view, is in effect a combination of the beneficiaries of the Treaty of Versailles who are mainly concerned with maintaining what is left of that Treaty, and with "putting a ring round Germany." I think that that is not an unfair description of the League and its attitude to Germany since 1920, and I do not believe that the League can come into its own until justice has been done to Germany. Directly a solution of the German problem can be found, the dangerous alliance system will begin to disappear, and the League, with Germany as a central member of it, will begin to revive.

I venture to think that if it were not for the anxieties felt about the policy and intentions of the National-Socialist régime, there is hardly anybody who would not say that, if a solution of the German problem could be found on the three bases I have mentioned, it ought to be done. If the situation created in 1918 could be remedied by bringing about in Eastern Europe the kind of Mittel Europa on the model of the British Empire which I have described; if by some such means as I have suggested, and on the basis of Article 22 of the League of Nations Covenant so far as the treatment of the natives is concerned, there could be found for Germany areas overseas in which she could produce those special raw materials or minerals necessary to supplement her own economy; and if Germany could be convinced that the League of Nations is not a combination of her enemies, but a group of European nations in which a satisfied Germany would have as much influence as anybody else, I think the peace of the world would be secure. My own view is that there will be no lasting peace until some such solution is found.



Admittedly, I think, the present régime in Germany has been created by the policy of her neighbours, and mainly by the policy of keeping Germany down and "encircled," which has been relentlessly pursued by France since 1920. But when I say French policy, I do not mean to hold France alone responsible for that policy, because I think the United States and Great Britain are equally responsible. I have already described how we both defaulted on the original Treaty of Guarantee to France. France was deserted in 1920. Few of us realise how terrible a thing that was for France, for the reason that equality for Germany in itself means inequality for France. France has a population of about forty millions, as against Germany's sixty-five or seventy millions. She does not possess the same industrial resources, nor the same organising power. Further, the psychological situation left over by the last war is not always understood. There were two defeated nations. On the one hand Germany was defeated by the world combination against her, and had imposed upon her the severe and drastic punishment the general character of which I have tried to describe. On the other hand, if you look at the War as the last of the historic struggles between France and Germany, it was France who was defeated. In other words, France by herself could never have got Germany off French soil in 1918, any more than she was able to do so in 1870. Therefore, in looking at the policy of France, it must be recognised that without some addition of strength from outside it is impossible for France to face Germany alone. That is why France made the alliances in Eastern Europe, why she insisted on the unilateral disarmament of Germany, why she insisted as long as she could on the demilitarisation of the Rhineland, why she has always refused to give any concession to Germany which she has not been forced to give, and why M. Barthou refused to entertain Hitler's offers, on the one hand, of an army of three hundred thousand men, and, on the other, of an air force half the size of the French air force or one-third that of all neighbouring air forces, whichever was the smaller. France would not let go of the smallest fragment of the Versailles settlement until she was given an alternative security from some other source.

That situation is changed to-day. While Great Britain took advantage of France's armaments or alliances to disarm, and left France to deal with Europe in her own way, one of the most

important consequences of British rearmament and of the new Locarno guarantees which we gave in April 1936 is that, at long last, we have not only entered into a joint defensive entente with France, but for the first time are in a position to mobilise behind it, or shall be in a position to do so, really effective strength. It is that reason which makes me believe that we can eliminate from our minds the fears and hates which are the subject matter of propaganda in all countries to-day, and not least in our own, and that we are in a better position to make a serious attempt to see whether it is not possible to come to terms with Germany before Europe and the world become rigidly embraced in the two great hostile alliance systems of which everyone is talking at present. We shall be able to enter those discussions from strength and not from weakness.

How is it possible to enter into such discussions? Can the League of Nations do it? I doubt it. I think it is true to say that League policy in relation to Germany has always been a policy of dictation by the beneficiaries of Versailles. It has been the failure of the League to attempt in any serious way to do justice to Germany, either when she was a Republic or since, which is the fundamental reason for the moral decline of the League to-day. Why did we fail in connection with Abyssinia? No doubt there are many reasons. For instance, I have always thought that the most fatal policy any government ever adopted was to allow Sir Samuel Hoare to make his speech at Geneva in September 1935 without first being sure that it could be followed by action. I was, at the time, very doubtful whether he should have made that speech at all but, having made it, I thought we should have seen it through, and I did not hesitate to say during the general election of November 1935 that, if necessary, we ought to have closed the Suez Canal or taken some equivalent action. But the fundamental reason why the League failed in regard to Abyssinia was because everybody was mainly concerned to maintain those unilateral discriminations against Germany which ought to have been removed many years ago. That was why nobody saw it through. Supposing the League had done justice to Germany in earlier years, and Germany had been a member of the League, I do not think there would have been any trouble at all. Instead, everybody was looking at Germany to see whether she proposed to take advantage of the situation in order to remilitarise the Rhineland, which from every moral point of view, seventeen years after the Armistice, she was entitled to do.



So, for the time being, I rule out the League of Nations as the instrument for making a settlement with Germany. Is there any alternative way? There are in my view two possibilities. The first is that a commission should be set up, under the chairmanship of someone appointed by the President of the United States, on which should sit no beneficiary of the Treaty of Versailles—neither Great Britain nor France, nor Czechoslovakia, nor Poland, nor any other country which benefitted—and ask it to investigate what alterations in the *status quo* are, in its opinion, advisable or necessary to bring about a relationship between Germany and her neighbours which could justly be regarded as a basis for peace. No government could promise beforehand to endorse the decision of such a body. But I venture to think that, if it were possible to set up such a tribunal and to obtain a report from really eminent people with political experience, not one of whom belonged to a country which in any direct way could be said to be a beneficiary under the Treaty of Versailles, a set of recommendations might result which would pave the way to real discussions which might lead towards a final settlement.

Failing that, I see no alternative at the moment but a British initiative. As I have said, we have at last given to France the guarantee which we promised in 1918 and we are in a position, or in a far better position than before, to make that guarantee good. We are thus in a position to talk with Germany without incurring the charge that we are deserting France, for I would reaffirm in the strongest terms the defensive Locarno guarantee, while reaffirming also that we are in no way bound by France's understandings with other Powers; therefore the great stumbling-block to negotiation in the past has been removed.

I do not think that the Spanish situation is fundamental to the problem which I have been describing, although it may lead to an international temper which will make the solution of that problem very difficult. In my view, Hitler's interest in the Spanish question is mainly what is not very euphoniously called ideological. I do not think that Germany has any territorial or colonial aspirations in Spain. I think, on the other hand, that Hitler, with his well-known antagonism to Communism, feels that the possibility of what he would call a Red Spain is so serious for Europe, and consequently for National-Socialist Germany, that he will go to very great lengths to prevent the success of what he regards as a Red Government. That, I believe, is the root of the problem in Spain as far as Hitler is concerned. But it involves an inevitable collision with Great Britain for the reason

that we do not take that view. In our view the Spanish problem is fundamentally a civil war. I do not think the majority of British people want to see either side win outright. They want something to come out of Spain which will be a more temperate form of government than a victory for either of the two extreme parties to-day. But in any case they feel that this is a matter which should be left to the Spaniards, and that it is wrong for anybody else to interfere, in order to bring about a solution according to their particular point of view. On the other hand, I think that while the attitude of Italy is in some ways similar to that of Germany, it is also strategic. She is concerned with the future of peace in the Mediterranean and her policy may therefore be a challenge to British strategic interests in that historic sea. That is why the Spanish problem is dangerous. There is a conflict of principle between Germany and ourselves, and a conflict of national strategic interest between Italy and ourselves. It will be difficult to come to grips with the main German question until the Spanish question is out of the way.

The root of the German problem to-day, therefore, is that at the back of our minds we feel that there is still justice to be done to Germany, and in the front of our minds we have grave doubts as to the consequences of trying to do justice to Germany as long as the National-Socialist Party is in office.

On that problem I would only make one comment. The removal of legitimate grievances removes the basis of discontent and feelings which the advocates of forcible expansion can exploit for their own ends, even though it may also improve a nation's strategic position for aggression. To refuse to do justice lest the concessions involved may be abused, is to make explosion eventually inevitable. An old saying "Fiat justicia ruat coelum," is the only basis for peace even if it involves risks, and in the long run it is cheaper and safer to prepare to defend yourself against unjust aggression, than to do injustice in the hope of preventing it altogether, as the history of Germany since 1920 abundantly proves. A first step towards solving the problem of Germany and the dilemma involved is a firm but friendly exploration by the British Government of the whole position in Berlin. It is impossible to make final judgments till that has been done.

May I, in conclusion, say a word about diplomatic methods in the contemporary world? We have now passed out of a world in which the power and prestige of the Allied Powers was so overwhelming that international questions could be dealt with by discussions in which we had the power of decision in our own hands. We are now once more in the traditional world in which successful diplomacy is inseparably connected with the strength that can be brought to bear behind one's case. That situation is almost inevitable under conditions of international anarchy, and the League of Nations, in my view, cannot alter the position, because it is based upon the sovereignty of its member States. The League will work as long as the principal nations of the world are fundamentally satisfied with the *status quo*. If we can solve the German problem, we shall recreate the conditions in which the League can function. But unless the League can find a method of altering the *status quo*, which it has not yet done, I do not think the League system, as originally conceived, can work when a number of important States are profoundly dissatisfied with the *status quo*. The League then, inevitably, degenerates into a combination which, on the one hand, mainly seeks to maintain the *status quo*, and, on the other, seeks to alter it.



I would strongly urge that under the conditions of to-day our international policy must be based on a clear appreciation of where real strength lies. It is not enough to be convinced of the rightness of our case. Before taking action we must be sure that there is strength behind it also. As I have already indicated, the fatal mistake made about Abyssinia was that we did not really estimate beforehand whether in issuing the challenge to Mussolini we either had the strength or the will to see it through. One of the difficulties of the democratic system is that we are so accustomed to free controversy, so accustomed to the view that resolutions can eventually be turned into votes, and so, after a general election to political power, that we are inclined to think that our democratic methods can be applied to international affairs also. But we cannot do this. To begin with, our arguments do not reach the other countries, and, if they do, they will have no more influence than have the arguments of other countries upon us. And there is no general election to decide the case. In diplomacy you have to agree or resort to force. So in every crisis you have first to face the question of whether you, and such friends as you may have in the League of Nations and elsewhere, are really in a position to win in the case of war, because if you are certain, and the other person is certain, that you are going to win, and your case is reasonably sound, you will probably win, and without war. But bluff, which was fundamentally what happened in September 1935, is the most fatal policy, especially for a democracy to-day.

Therefore, to-day the important thing is for us to consider our political ideals in the light of the power which we can actually bring to bear behind them, and not to take decisions on the policy we propose to pursue until we know what physical power we can rely upon, and what countries are willing to act with us. Because, in the last resort, whether you are talking in terms of the League of Nations or not, in a world which consists of sovereign national States and which is, therefore, fundamentally an anarchy, the ultimate thing behind policy is force, just as the ultimate power behind law inside the State is force. Therefore I venture to think that the two most important things we have to do to-day are, on the one hand to consider whether there is any way of removing those root causes of the German problem that still spring from the Versailles settlement and, secondly, how far any action we may wish to take in foreign affairs is supported by a really superior strength which we, and any allies we may have, are in a position to bring to bear in a crisis.

*Summary of Discussion.*

MR. WICKHAM STEED said that he had the unexpected pleasure of expressing a considerable measure of agreement with one or two of the things the lecturer had said. He had expected to find himself in total disagreement on every single point. He agreed that nothing would be more fatal than a policy of bluff, and that Great Britain should contemplate no policy without considering the power that lay behind it, although he would qualify that statement by saying "the power which belief in her ideals would enable her to put behind it." With regard to all other points, especially the historical arguments, he was in complete disagreement. All these arguments could be traversed. What was mistakenly called German "War Guilt" had been mentioned. In 1919, when the Germans protested against the text of the draft treaty of Versailles, a very able and penetrating reply had been written putting the case very cogently. Mr. Philip Kerr (now Lord Lothian) had been the author. Was his judgment unsound then, and if so was it sound to-day?

The speaker had said Germany, Germany, Germany where he ought to have said Hitler, Hitler, Hitler. Was he aware that to-day 70 per cent. of the German people were in sullen revolt against Hitler, that animosity between Catholics and Protestants had disappeared, that peasants and large landowners alike were straining at the leash to get away from the present ruinous system? When German trade unionists had been asked, not long ago, by their own people, why they could not do anything, they replied that it was because "they" had got all the machine guns. In what language had the lecturer spoken with Herr Hitler which the power and prestige of the Allied Powers was so over-



even Germans who had spoken German with Hitler had never been able to trust his word. The present speaker had been invited to visit Hitler, but after the murderous "clean up" of 30th June 1934 he did not care to meet such a man.

The real issue was: how were the German people to be saved for Europe? South Africa had been mentioned. There two White minorities lived under the pressure of a great Black majority, and one of those White minorities lived in fear of German strategic designs. In 1911 Botha had warned Winston Churchill that Germany meant ill to Great Britain, and said that when the time came he would clear them out of German South-West Africa.

There remained the great question of how to deal with Germany at the present time. Great Britain should show her ideals plainly to the German people, and uphold their right to live, even if she had to break with Hitler.

LORD ARNOLD said that there would be unanimous appreciation of the able address given by Lord Lothian. If the views of the last speaker prevailed, he was afraid peace in Europe would not last long. Also he felt sceptical about statistics to the effect that about 70 per cent. of the German people were against Hitler. He had been hearing that sort of thing about Italy for years, and also each autumn it had been said that Hitler could not survive another winter. We must recognise that Hitler was in power in Germany, and the only alternative to negotiating with Germany, and that meant with Hitler, was—sooner or later—war. It was ridiculous to speak of standing behind the German people against Hitler.

He had been very impressed by Lord Lothian's closing remarks concerning British initiative. This had been lacking for a long time. Mr. Lansbury had quoted an eminent German who said that there would never be peace in Europe until Germany's economic position was altered. What had Great Britain done in that direction? Everyone knew that the Ottawa Agreements, for instance, were an offence to a country like Germany. The British Empire comprised a quarter of the world's territory and population, and more than a quarter of the world's wealth. Out of twenty-five essential commodities and minerals there were adequate supplies in the British Empire of eighteen. Germany had adequate supplies of only four, and she had no colonies whatever. Great Britain had not only done nothing in regard to Germany's demand for colonies, but had indicated that nothing would be done. It was impossible that Germany should continue to have no overseas territory, while Great Britain, with her smaller population which would soon be declining, should retain in the British Empire a quarter of the world's territory. If Great Britain were in the position of Germany she would feel exactly as Germany does. British statesmen were not good at putting themselves in the position of other peoples

1935, is the most fatal policy, especially for a democracy to-day.




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October 1941

Dear Friends:

My skipping a September letter to you, which I regret, is only part of the "skipping" I have been doing. While I have had more personal cares and worries than a dog has fleas, the New Deal has not overlooked trying to add to them! They say:

"The big fleas all have little fleas
On 'em to bite 'em
And little fleas have smaller fleas
And so on ad infinitum."

In order to give the New Deal no excuse to move into my office or "borrow" my anti-Red records, every cent contributed to office expenses has been listed as an "anonymous" donation and income tax paid on it as though it were a personal fee to me - unjust as it seems to pay tax on what <u>should</u> be tax exempt and on what is paid to others to help carry on the patriotic work to which I <u>donate</u> my life and labor.

My husband has always made out all income tax reports; I only know when our office "cupboard" is bare of funds. This past July one Nathan Morris arrived at my husband's office with letters from the U. S. Commissioner of Internal Revenue at Washington, D. C., dated July 10, authorizing him to investigate both of our income tax returns for 1939-40. As the local Bureau had already investigated and okayed my husband's return this seemed fishy, we being small fry financially, as it is rare for the tax return of anyone outside of the millionaire or Al Capone class to be investigated <u>twice</u>.

So on inquiry, we were informed that Mr. Nathan Morris is not connected with either the local or Washington Income Tax Bureau but works right out of the Washington office of the Attorney General who heads the F.B.I. A "fishing expedition" was scented and his first question when he entered set the keynote: "What Fascist or Nazi or Communist organizations does Mrs. Dilling belong to?" The answer was a decided "Not one!" By chance I dropped into my husband's office while Mr. Morris was there and had a pleasant chat with him in which he told me of his long close association with Rabbi Stephen S. Wise (part of whose crimson record is listed in my books).

He inquired about the cost of our home way back in 1920, 21 years ago. "Aren't you going rather far afield for a 1939 income tax return?", he was asked. His significant reply was, "Well, perhaps I am but I have a job to do." I had a fair idea of what that "job" was. Added to my books and bulletins my recent opposition to Dictator-War Bill 1776 in Washington has keenly whetted the appetite of the New Deal and its warmongers to smear and silence [illegible]

## An $800 New Deal "Fishing Trip"

And so for three months Mr. Nathan Morris has been demanding such laborious detailed proof of every bottle of ink, as it were, used in my office since 1939, that the bill of the expert accountant, whom my husband hired to handle the matter, has run up to $800! It must be disappointing to have discovered no "love gifts" to our office from Benito Mussolini or Adolph Hitler. Of course bloody Joe Stalin couldn't be suspected of contributing since we are being taxed to send millions in gifts to him.

Our dog, fortunately, is a little cocker spaniel. Were he a dachshund I might ere this have been in a concentration camp where 80% of our people, George Washingtonian Americans, who also oppose entangling European alliances, should join me.

Congressman Knutson, to quote (A.P. 10/8/41), "offered the House a definition of the difference between a Nazi and a Communist during debate today on the lend-lease bill. Said Knutson: "The only difference between a Nazi and a Communist is that a Nazi can't get a job in the New Deal."

## I Travel at New Deal Expense

With Mr. Nathan Morris still plodding at his assignment of snooping over the purchase and use of any "tooth pick" I might have "twittled" in past years, another New Deal "billet doux" ("love note" to you) arrived in the shape of a subpoena to come to Washington, D. C., bringing all correspondence data, mailing lists, etc., connected with my purchase and distribution last October and November of a booklet of Lord Lothian's previous speeches which were a George Washingtonian argument against Britain and the U. S. sacrificing lives to hold down "the anarchy of Europe" in the "status quo".

At this summons to more expense, I made up my mind not to budge until I had a round trip ticket to Washington in hand; since there are billions of government tax money for bloody Joe, there should be a ticket for me. And so I sat packed to go for three days until at last a round trip and lower berth ticket finally appeared about a half hour before train time. By collecting the rest legally due me, of $1.50 per day witness fees plus $3.00 maintenance per day for three days, plus 10¢ per mile one way, I extracted the cost of a "nice" trip to Washington which I utilized to interview friendly Congressmen and Senators, to build fires under the enemy, and came home via New York where I did some valuable work. "I am here," I said proudly to friends, "at the expense of my government."

A New York friend gave me a huge round celluloid badge the size of a tea cup with the words "I AM A SPY". I pinned this inside my coat and ever since have been flashing it on people. At a ticket window, for example, I asked, "Can you hurry up that berth ticket? You haven't seen my badge have you?" "No", the man said respectfully, expecting to see some official connection, until I flashed out the "I AM A SPY" badge and he laughed. Today a friend gave me a small red nose with whiskers which can be quickly plopped on as one shows the badge! I used it on the office elevator men with fine effect today.

Although my subpoena was illegally drawn and I could have ignored it, I was glad to go and testify. Significantly, I had been well smeared by the Pearson and Allen column and the press before my arrival but was unable to get any statement of mine in the press concerning the matter.

The subpoena had requested that I bring to Washington all mailing lists, correspondence, etc., in connection with my purchase of the Lothian books. The moment it was served I offered to cooperate and turned over to be photostated all correspondence concerning my purchase of the Lothian books, my one and only transaction with Flanders Hall Publishers, of Scotch Plains, New Jersey, no member of whom I have ever met. This correspondence included my initial inquiry concerning prices, my order, my letters of bitter complaint at the huge C.O.D. express bill on the prepaid order which should have arrived postpaid and, besides, came four hundred copies short with the statement that unordered cartons at a big price had been sent to make up the difference (!); then, our threat of legal action and, finally, their letter sending a refund. The purchase was a headache but the speeches were good.

## The New Deal O.G.P.U. At Work

Picture a New Deal "O.G.P.U." scene in which an assistant to Roosevelt's Attorney General turns on all the sarcasm and spleen possible to convey the idea that he is addressing a convicted criminal about to be hung (for buying copies of a Britisher's speeches) as he demands of the victim: "Are you the author of THE RED NETWORK in which Mrs. Roosevelt is listed as a Red?"

Victim: "I am! Of course I have ten times as much on her now as I had then."

He: "Do you intend to publish this?"

Victim: "Yes, providing you don't throw me in a concentration camp."

He: "Certainly you do not think that I or anyone associated with me would ever wish to interfere with freedom of speech or of the press?"

Victim: "Well, I am sure you are carrying out your orders to the best of your ability but in view of what I have gone through since I opposed the Lend-Lease Dictator-War Bill I'd say it smells mighty peculiar. I think they are out to get and silence me."

He: (With sinister glower) "What do you mean by 'they'?"

Victim: "What would you think? The New Deal of course."

A long harangue of sarcastic questions concerning my "so-called" Patriotic Research Bureau. An attempt to get its mailing lists ending with my determined retort: "You can draw and quarter me and throw me in a concentration camp but you will never get out of me the name of one single person who has ever befriended me so that they may be persecuted as I have been."

Denials that this was intended. An attempt to dig into Bureau donations and expenditures and have me itemize these which I couldn't possibly do. I am too pushed to even keep track of the stamps we have to buy.

Victim: "Why don't you ask your own man right out of your own office who has been busy since July counting up every penny spent by the office since 1939? He knows far more about it than I do. He is still there. Ask him!"

My "crime" of distributing copies of the Lothian speeches is taken up. Would I admit they were "Nazi" propaganda?

Victim: "No. Do you consider Lord Lothian a 'Nazi'?"

He: "No, indeed."

Victim: "Well, they were Lord Lothian's speeches. I distributed them during his lifetime; Wm. Randolph Hearst devoted two whole columns to quoting them; the Saturday Evening Post devoted an editorial page to quoting them, all of which went from coast to coast. If he did not make them it is strange that neither Lord

Lothian, while British Ambassador here, nor the British Embassy since he died (Dec. 12, 1940) have ever denied that he made those speeches. They are carefully documented. Have you discovered any of them to be phoney?"

He: "That is not my business. You run a Research Bureau."

Victim: "Since you have been able to bring me all the way from Chicago to ask about those speeches, why didn't you look them up and disprove one of them first? You have the whole F.B.I. back of you!"

He: "You know that you are known by the public all over the country don't you? You think that you are a very important woman in public life, don't you?"

Victim: "No, I do not."

He: "Well, when your name is used on something you know that it carries weight, don't you?"

Victim: "I know that nothing I have ever printed or said has ever been refuted by anyone and that my books have won important court cases."

He: (With a "hang the criminal" tone) "Why didn't YOU investigate Flanders Hall Publishers before you distributed those books with your recommendation?"

Victim: "Have you investigated whether the tie you are wearing has any German thread in it?"

He: "My wife bought it. I am sure she investigated."

Victim: "Went right to the manufacturers and looked into their purchases to see that no embargoed German material went into it? How do you know that you are not wearing German shoes?"

He: "Well, it is more important that the foot inside of the shoe has a kick in it." (Which would also apply to the Lothian speeches.)

He: (Very melodramatically) "Do you know by personal first-hand knowledge that Lord Lothian ever saw those speeches?"

Victim: "No. I vas not dere - I was in Chicago. They were delivered in England. How could I check them with the war on? He never denied them."

He: "You never tried to check them in the Library of Congress?"

Victim: "No. Are they there? That is a good tip. I will go right over and look them up when I leave here!"

He: "I will not say whether they are there or not. Have you registered as the agent of a foreign government?"

Victim: (With some heat) "Why on earth should an American-born citizen of all British and Scotch-Irish blood who has devoted ten years time to upholding Americanism do that? Can't one oppose foreign war involvement and be 100% pro-American without registering as a foreign agent?"

Then a long harangue in which he claimed that "James Burr Hamilton", the name signed to the short introduction to the booklet of the Lothian speeches, was the pen name of one "George Sylvester Viereck", a propagandist for Germany. Did I know that?

Victim: "No, I have never heard of Viereck until recently, in the press, but, even if what you say is true, I do not think the little introduction amounts to much one way or another. If the Devil himself wrote the introduction to Lord Lothian's speeches, it would not alter the speeches. If you can show me that Lothian did not make those speeches, I will humbly apologize to every person to whom I mailed a copy. If I prove he did, I will tell them that."

He: "But you should not wait. You should let me issue a statement to the press NOW telling them you have distributed Nazi propaganda!"

Victim: "No, I will issue my own statement and only after I check the speeches; those are what I bought. When I do issue a statement I will send you a copy." (I shall send him this.) "If I prove Lothian made those speeches, I will reproduce them under my own name and try to raise money to distribute a thousand times as many as I ever did before because every American citizen ought to read them! They exactly corroborate George Washington's ideas on the futility of the U.S.A. trying to maintain the anarchy of Europe and its perpetual entanglements in any status quo. Lothian says this is not worth the sacrifice of a million British lives; therefore it is not in my opinion worth one American life. I still am George Washingtonian even though he seems to have gone out of style with some people."

He: (Sarcastically) "So you have a movement called 'George Washingtonian'".

Victim: (A bit weary with the endless hectoring) "No, I have no movement. I merely have a picture of Washington on my office wall because I admire his principles."

He: "One little sentence or paragraph twisted from the context of those speeches could change their whole meaning."

Victim: "I will look into that also and reproduce the speeches in full. I have opposed dictatorship under any name, whether in Europe or in America, and upheld our American Republican form of government. If that be treason, make the most of it. If Flanders Hall Publishers is backed by any foreign propagandist, I certainly approve of your putting them out of business. At the same time I am also in favor of your putting out of business all other foreign agencies including the thousands of British propagandists who are overrunning our country, pushing us into war, to sacrifice our boys and our billions. Also the whole treasonable Communist press which is frankly committed to the overthrow of our government ought to be put out of business and the Bolsheviks ought to be put off the New Deal pay roll!"

Before I finally departed the gentleman began to exhibit a courteous change of manner - whether assumed or real. He even offered to do me the favor of searching for a mislaid paper! After all, he has to perform for his bosses.

## Serving the F.B.I.

I have in the past given much data to Dies Committee investigators and, previous to my trip to Washington, had promised local F.B.I. men, free of charge, to let them put a man in my office to work on my unique files getting data for the F.B.I., which they want and need, even though this would require our assistance and we are pitifully short handed. On my return from Washington, when one of the F.B.I. boys came in for data, I looked up some things with him and then said:

"Listen: you and the rest of the F.B.I. men I know are a fine lot and I would do anything for you personally. But since your boss, the Attorney General's office, had me questioned as though I were a criminal for buying a bunch of Lord Lothian's speeches, I've made up my mind to charge you from now on for anything you get from this office. If they have billions for the dirty Reds, let them pay me for the use of my records which have cost thousands of dollars and ten years of my donated labor."

"Well, how much would you charge us?" he asked.

"Plenty - Lend-Lease style!", said I, jauntily.

"Wouldn't it be funny," Jean grinned, "if the New Deal helped support our office!"

At this moment one state and one local police department are waiting for me to compile reports for them.

## The Lothian Speeches Check 100%

In Washington, after leaving my New Deal O.G.P.U. "boy friend", I hied myself over to the Library of Congress with a dear friend. We got every issue of the London Times and London Observer from which speeches in the Lothian book were quoted and they checked word for word. I had photostats made of the whole pages and speeches. International Affairs of London, Vol. 16, (cited on p.31 of the Lothian book) I secured and had photostated elsewhere. It checks 100%.

I have delayed issuing the Lothian material until I had photostats in hand of the sources of the last remaining four pages of speeches in the 53 page book.

You will get a copy of the speeches in their entirety just as printed in the British press, as soon as ready. The planographing will be expensive. The cheapest price I have secured so far is $150-plus for the first 1,000 copies or more than 15¢ each without postage or envelopes. The entire context is much "hotter" than the excerpts given in the Lothian booklet. I hope you will help to distribute many copies as soon as they are ready.

## Have We Any "Freedoms"?

We shall see whether the fight to enforce the "four freedoms" - "everywhere in the world" - is to be completely extinguished at home!

"What a farce," I thought, as I saw a man in New York picking through a garbage can to get something to eat, just as I see them near my office in Chicago, to thunder about our taxing ourselves to death to fight and bleed abroad to secure for the rest of the globe the four freedoms, "freedom from want, freedom from fear, freedom of speech and press and freedom of worship", while we subsidize atheist religion-destroying Stalin and his murder gang, while there is want on every side at home, while American citizens are being denied halls, radio time, etc., and being razzed and grilled, as I have been, for opposing a dictator who has ignored our Constitutional checks and balances and has been pushing us into war against the will of 80% of the people without even bothering to consult Congress until after step after step had already been illegally taken! To quote him: "We planned it that way."

## The End of Law

As a brilliant Washington, D. C., attorney told me in February: "As soon as we lose the right of Habeus Corpus, dictatorship will be complete and all rights under the law will be wiped out. Roosevelt's third term is now completing the packing of the courts with New Dealers so that justice by law is practically impossible for opponents of the New Deal, and Stimson", he said, "has already been talking about doing away with the right of Habeus Corpus."

England, its people paralyzed by long years of degenerative Marxian, pacifist, Red propaganda poison, found itself, as I saw there in 1939, being shoved

into this world war much as we have been and by the same closely linked international crew operating between France, Wall Street, Washington and London. Since the war, British patriots have been thrown into jail without trial or formal charges, without means of self defense or liberation, deprived of the right of Habeas Corpus under a special measure known as "18B". The following from the London Patriot of Sept. 4, 1941, gives one an idea of the "freedoms" in England under the rule of the international warmongers with whom our New Deal has aligned us. To quote:

"18B

"I wonder whether any of the members of Parliament who sat complacently on their benches whilst this astounding law was being passed realised that they were forging a weapon which might one day be turned against themselves with deadly effect?

"Men in power are apt to imagine that power will last forever, ignoring the immortal maxim quoted by Mirabeau after his fall: 'It is but a step from the Capitol to the Tarpeian Rock'.

"Habeas Corpus could, of course, be revoked in times of national emergency, when the guilt of the victim was obvious or suspected on good grounds WHICH WERE MADE KNOWN TO HIM, thus giving him a chance to defend himself without formal trial. It did not keep him for years in prison, not knowing what he was there for. 18B is thus not merely a revocation of Habeas Corpus but a return to the methods of the French Revolution, of which we are now told to admire 'the glorious principles.' But for the absence of the death penalty, its nearest counterpart may be found in the Loi du 22 Priarial, which deprived its victims of the right of trial and of witnesses for the defense, and heralded that bloodiest period of the Revolution known as 'The Great Terror.' Little did Robespierre, in framing this law when at the height of his power, dream that the dripping blade of the guillotine would one day fall on his own head...

"With the keystone of British justice removed, those in power can use it as they please against their opponents. In vain may its authors cry for mercy, asking of what they are accused, demanding the right to defend themselves. No answer will be vouchsafed but 'You destroyed that right yourselves; now you must bear the consequences.'

"18B is, indeed, on one point even more unjust than the autocratic regimes of the past in that it acts on false pretexts. Under the former, when throwing a man into prison and treating him with the utmost cruelty, no secret was made of the reason, namely that he was an enemy of the political system in power, thus winning sympathy for him and often honour as a martyr in the eyes of those who shared his opinions. They did not publicly accuse him of being a traitor to his country and in league with enemies out to destroy it, which would have degraded him in the eyes of every patriot, even of his own party.

"And this is where another and important aspect of the matter comes in, to which hitherto little attention has been paid. It is not only arrest and imprisonment the victim of 18B has to fear, but other measures deriving from the French Revolution - the Loi des Suspects, the visite domiciliere - in those terrible days when it was said, 'Woe to him who has an enemy!' So today anyone who bears a grudge against another, or any jealous rival, can lodge an absolutely false allegation to the police against the object of his malice, with the result of a perquisition being made at his house. And then, even if officially proved to be the stoutest patriot, he receives no redress. The slanderer incurs no penalty, is at liberty to go on repeating the slander as

long as he pleases, whilst the innocent victim is given no means for making his vindication public. For the rest of his life he will be followed by the whisper that he is 'the man who was suspect during the war.' His life has been spared but all that makes it worth living has been taken from him.

"Unless this unprecedented law is revoked soon...and British justice is restored to her honoured place, no man or woman in England can be sure of their liberty, and perhaps later of their life."

## In America Also

Lindbergh, for telling our Nation the truth about European armaments, etc., is being smeared from coast to coast as a "Nazi". We read that Mr. Henry Ford is to be "investigated" after the radical and Jewish press has been printing the most fantastic libels against him and "reproducing" private correspondence from his plant. This was no surprise to me. I tried unsuccessfully over a year ago, as the result of bitter experience with the same source, to warn the Ford Company of the treachery on their own pay roll - but in vain.

The countless sound patriots in America First are being viciously smeared as "Nazis" and "Fascists". Only in case Reds inside America First are successful in taking it over will it be given a clean bill of health by our controlled press.

## Just For a Laugh

Have you heard this story? "A German and an Englishman and a Russian were riding in the Clipper. In the middle of the ocean the pilot came back and said, 'I am sorry, gentlemen, we are running out of gas. One of you will have to go overboard.' The German stood up and saluted, 'Heil Hitler', and jumped overboard. An hour later the pilot came back and said, 'I am sorry, gentlemen, but another one of you will have to go overboard.' The Englishman stood up and saluted saying, 'There will always be an England', and threw the Russian overboard."

I also heard this one: A plane was brought down in the sea off Norway. The man who went out to investigate was asked if it were a German plane. He said it was and, on being asked whether the Germans on it were alive or dead, said: "Well, one of them <u>said</u> he was alive but you know what liars those Germans are!"

## The Road Down

I wish American mothers with leisure would leave their bridge tables and clubs long enough to investigate conditions among school children as the result of <u>years</u> of Red materialistic "progressive education" and Freudian sex filth. A mother shocked me this morning by telling me why, among other similar reasons, she had taken her twelve year old daughter out of one of our most "select" local private schools for girls. When her little girl matured, eleven year old classmates of hers warned her: "Now you will have to be careful with the boys or you will have a baby. We are lucky we don't have to worry about that yet." She asked her mother what they meant!

One of our North Shore police officers said to me the other day: "If the parents only realized the wild life that most of their young people are living these days! Things are entirely different from what they were in your day and mine. My sixteen year old daughter has been going out to the _____ Club" (one of the joints which cater to North Shore High School and College youngsters)

"and they have been serving her booze. I went out and gave them warning that she is a minor and the next time they serve her a drink I will close the place!" What are the parents of other young folks, who go there and to similar "joints", doing?

My 21 year old son thinks he is engaged to a sweet little girl not yet 18 who enrolled this year in Wisconsin University which, for years, has been nicknamed "little Moscow".(See the chapter on Glenn Frank and "free love" in Wisconsin in my book THE RED NETWORK.) Son is now worrying over his girl like an old father because of things like these: he says her sorority went out the night she was pledged with a fraternity and "co-educationally" got drunk together. They tried to get her drunk too! The girls in her dormitory who go out at night are supposed to sign out and sign in at 12:30 at night but, he says, a side door is left open and those who stay out all night simply omit signing out and boldly come in the side door in the morning; many girls are in trouble. The boys make no secret of their "dishonorable intentions" and, as he puts it, "start working on a girl as soon as they meet her" and "the whole atmostphere is one of open acceptance of such standards. In fact, they make fun of a girl who 'holds out' - even her own sorority sisters - then after she has slipped once or twice she gets just like the rest! I don't want the girl I marry like that!"

Reports of wholesale immorality in parking places there, and my High School daughter and her friends report the same conditions near us, evoke sad and fearful thoughts over the future of America and its coming citizenry. The amut-filled popular novel mirrors the low ideals of the times. P.T.A.'s, instead of fighting religious education, should be fostering it.

## Reds Fight Religion

A sound Christian minister writes me Oct. 15th as follows:

"Dear Mrs. Dilling:

"I am writing in behalf of the Council for Religious Education of _____. We have been giving Religious Education for three years on Thursdays at 2:30 P.M.

"The board of Education has granted the request of parents to have their children excused from classes for one hour on Thursdays. The parents state on the request to what Church they wish to send their children.

"For three years we have not had much opposition but now some people are beginning to object, and try to find some law to have this Education discontinued.

"At present one of the P.T.A. Organizations has taken it upon itself to put on a program to bring this matter of Religious Education to an open discussion which we believe will lead into a debate and ill feeling.

"Here is their PROGRAM:-'Religious Education in the Schools.'

(a) Possibilities for Good - by a local minister. (We refused)
(b) Possible Evils and Disadvantages - Mr. Ira Latimer, Executive Secretary, Chicago Civil Liberties Committee.

"What we would like to know is about this Mr. Ira Latimer. Where does he stand? Who is he? What does he believe? Let us know if you have any positive information about him. And then we would like to know about this 'Chicago Civil Liberties Committee.'

"We would appreciate an early reply, if possible. This P.T.A. meeting is to be held the 12th of November, and we would like to know before hand who this man is and what kind of Organization this Chicago Civil Liberties Committee is.

"We believe the school board is within their rights when they dismiss a child at the request of the parents.

"Thanking you I am yours,
(Signature)_____

I am writing him in part as follows:

"Dear Reverend_____:

"The Chicago Civil Liberties Committee is the Chicago branch of the Communist-aiding American Civil Liberties Union. The section on the American Civil Liberties Union (pp.111-123) in my book THE RED NETWORK was used by the San Diego School Board as a basis for barring the American Civil Liberties Union from using the school auditorium for meetings as a 'seditious and disloyal organization'. When not one fact in my book could be refuted by American Civil Liberties Union leaders, the book was admitted in evidence and the American Civil Liberties Union was barred (Judge Arthur L. Mundo; Dept. 6 of the Superior Court of San Diego; Case number 79805; decided 3/13/35).

"I can show you one American Civil Liberties Union pamphlet after another with their reports on how they continually uphold, in the Courts and otherwise, the 'right' of teachers to teach atheism, Communism, etc., in public schools. This they call 'academic freedom'.

"Their yearly report for 1932-1933 (p.25) under the heading 'Freedom In Schools and Colleges' lists among other cases 'affecting college teachers and students expressing pacifist, liberal or radical views': '(4) The dismissal of Prof. Ira Latimer from LeMoyne College (colored), Memphis, for his public activities' (radicalism).

"When the communist National Student Congress Against War (See p.228 of THE RED NETWORK), called by Moscow, was held at the University of Chicago, Dec. 27-29, 1932, the national committee sponsoring it included 'Ira Latimer, LeMoyne College, Memphis, Tenn.'. Communists Earl Browder, Scott Nearing, etc., were Congress speakers.

"I can also show you American Civil Liberties Union pamphlets, issued from year to year, with maps designating those sections of the U.S.A. where Bible reading is still permitted in schools. They continually fight against this. They carried on the Court suit to bar Bible reading from New York public schools for the atheist Freethinkers of America (See p.160 of THE RED NETWORK).

"The American Civil Liberties Union militantly upholds and supplies legal aid for every phase of the Red movement: atheism, obscenity, Red crimes of all sorts, including murder. Lawyer Morris Ernst, now and for many years one of their two National Counsels, is author of a book in defense of obscenity entitled 'To the Pure - A Study in Obscenity and the Censor' (Viking Press).

"Ira Latimer was appointed executive secretary of the Chicago Civil Liberties Committee of the American Civil Liberties Union in the winter of 1936. In line with the intimate relations between the American Civil Liberties Union and the Communist Party is the report of a Communist Party functionary that at a special meeting of Party functionaries, held Sept. 27, 1938, Latimer was among the 'participants'.

"Ira Latimer was a member of the 'Civil Rights Commission' of Moscow's own American League for Peace and Democracy (1/39) organized for Red revolution and treason and forced under cover by Dies Committee publicity. When Moscow's world-wide M.O.P.R., whose U.S.A. branch is called the International Labor Defense, held two 'Scottsboro Rallies' in Chicago, Ira Latimer, along with local Communists, was a scheduled speaker (Communist Party's Midwest Daily Record 6/24/38) and was a member of their Chicago Scottsboro Defense Committee 1937-38.

"In 1937, a fund-raising campaign was put on for communistic Commonwealth College, a little training school for Red agitators at Mena, Arkansas, where nude bathing and atheism were 'part of the curriculum', according to Legislative Investigating Committee testimony. Ira Latimer, along with various Communists, was a member of the 'Finance Campaign Committee' to raise funds for Commonwealth College and its red affiliate, the Highlander Folk School at Monteagle, Tenn.

"In this connection you may recall the donations Mrs. Roosevelt has made to red Highlander Folk School and also the New Deal subsidy given red Commonwealth College. When Mrs. Roosevelt came to Chicago as speaker for the Chicago Civil Liberties Committee, March 14, 1940, she raised $2,000 for their Red work and was paid a fee of $1,500.

"The Red motion picture, 'Pastor Hall', sponsored by James Roosevelt, with Mrs. Roosevelt taking part, was written by Ernst Toller who was honored by world Jewry in 1937 as a representative Jew. He was a Communist who was imprisoned by the German Republic for leading the bloody Soviet Revolution in Germany in 1918-19, and later carried on his Communist activities in the U.S.A. and left his 'Last Testament' to the Communist Party's New Masses magazine before he committed suicide in 1939.

"When the 'Pastor Hall' film was banned in Chicago, Ira Latimer and the Chicago Civil Liberties Committee took the lead in fighting the ban.

"Of course, Latimer also led the protest against the Chicago ban on the Soviet film, 'The Oppenheim Family' (Chicago Examiner, 6/3/39). He was speaker for the convention of the communistic American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born Workers (3/40) held in Washington, D. C.

"'Quits Red Vote Hearing Ahead of Punch in Nose' is the heading of this recent news report:

"'Ira Latimer, executive secretary of the Chicago Civil Liberties union, was ordered from the house executive committee meeting late today. Latimer left when the chairman, Reed F. Cutler (R., Lewistown), threatened to throw him out if he didn't go voluntarily.

"'After the committee had approved, 18 to 1, bills to outlaw the communist party from the ballot in Illinois, Latimer took from his brief case a handful of pamphlets "explaining the bill of rights" and laid them near Representative Dean McGaughey (D., Mount Zion).

"'"You get out of here," Cutler yelled at Latimer. "You're not coming in to this committee and insult any of its members, or spread your propaganda."

"'Latimer stopped to pick up his brief case. Cutler apparently thought his ouster order was to be disobeyed, for he started toward Latimer, shouting:

"'"You get out of here or I'll punch you in the nose."

"'"All right, all right," Latimer replied, and left the room."'" (Chgo. Tribune, 5/22/41)

"To cover Latimer's radical activities would require a book.

"The radical American Jewish Congress headed by red Rabbi Stephen S. Wise (see my books) is also very active this year in fighting to prevent 'release time' in public schools for religious instruction of any sort. Their letter sent out April 29, 1941, asks friends 'to align yourselves with the democratic forces in your community in order to carry out a program of opposition... against release time.'

"Such organizations make a stench of 'democratic' by their misuse of the word.

"If I can be of further help please call on me. I hope and pray not only that you may triumph against the red forces of atheism pitted against you but also that sound spiritual leaders like yourself may ultimately succeed in extending release time for religious instruction to other schools until every child in America is reached. 'Man does not live by bread alone.' 'As the twig is bent the tree will grow.'

"Yours sincerely for a Christian America,

"(Mrs. A. W.) ELIZABETH DILLING"

America Will Pay

Of course every effort is being made by radicals to prevent any provision for school children to be excused during school hours to receive religious training from teachers of their parents' own faith. As self-indulgent parents golf or sleep Sunday mornings themselves, fewer and fewer children are sent to Sunday School or receive any spiritual training at all.

America is already paying for its present materialistic trend in youthful crime, disease and the debauchery of society and government and if this trend is not checked America will pay still more just like France and every other nation that has fallen. We are now living on the remains of unearned spiritual blessings left us by those pioneering ancestors who put "In God we Trust" on our coins.

To quote: "EIGHTY MILLION AMERICANS NOT CHURCH MEMBERS - A recent survey the results of which were published by the Yearbook of American Churches, showed that of the nearly 130-million inhabitants of the U.S.A. only 52,378,026 were members of a church." We are living in a time of broken faith in God and mankind, world-wide confusion, warfare, physical and mental suffering, broken homes, loosened morals and anti-Christian Marxian propaganda in schools, public thinking and government.

Red Labor Temple

While in New York I visited Labor Temple, long a Red Center for atheistic communistic propaganda, supported by Presbyterian Church Mission funds! On the bulletin board was a cartoon of Jesus Christ (reproduced in my book THE RED NETWORK) by Art Young, cartoonist for the atheist Communist press, which long ago appeared in the Communist Masses magazine and more recently in Norman Thomas' Socialist Call, 12/21/40, the title reading as follows:

"Reward - For Information Leading to the Apprehension of - Jesus Christ - Wanted-for Sedition, Criminal Anarchy - Vagrancy, and Conspiring to Overthrow the Established Government - Dresses poorly. Said to be a carpenter by trade, ill-nourished, has visionary ideas, associates with common working people the unemployed and bums. Alien-Believed to be a Jew. Alias 'Prince of Peace, Son of Man' - 'Light of the World' & & Professional Agitator Red Beard, Marks on hands and feet the Result of injuries inflicted by an angry mob led by respectable citizens and legal authorities."

Leaflets for distribution advertised "two courses of lectures" under "auspices, The Spinoza Institute of America" at Labor Temple by Harry Waton "author of the Philosophy of Marx, the Philosophy of Spinoza, etc." One lecture, for example, was to be on the "Managerial Revolution", and the footnote to the leaflet states: "We are facing a permanent historic and revolutionary transformation of private Capitalism into State Capitalism. State Capitalism will be the permanent social order of Society in this country as in all other countries until State Capitalism is transformed into Socialism."

That a "Spinoza Institute" should headquarter at a center supported by Christian mission funds is an appalling example of present day apostasy. Spinoza, idol of agnostics, was one of the only two Jews ever expelled from a Jewish synagogue according to B'nai B'rith. Spinoza's first biographer, Colerus, described Spinoza's philosophy as 'the most pernicious atheism that ever was seen in the world'. Bayle, a fellow philosopher, called him 'the systematizer of atheism'. Jewry generally proudly calls him 'blessed Spinoza'".

But this sort of thing is "old stuff" at Labor Temple. I have before me a New York Times clipping dated 2/16/25 headed "COMMUNISTS HISS RELIGION FOR PUPILS - Experiment at Public School 46 Called Entering Wedge for Churches. Freethinker Wants Fight - Rally of German Workmen and Their Families in Labor Temple Boos at Name of O'Shea." To quote the report: "Attacks by speakers on the experiment being made for the religious education of children attending Public School 46 were applauded yesterday at a mass meeting of German workmen and their families held at Labor Temple," (as in the past and at the present)"...The speakers were Ludwig Lore, editor of the Volkszeitung, a German Communist daily; Mrs. Lily Lore, Julia Stuart Poyntz of the Workers Party, Paul Schueler, a German Communist; Anna Louise Strong, author of a book on Soviet Russia, and Joseph Lewis, President of the New York Free Thinkers Society." (For whom the American Civil Liberties Union sued the school board.)

## Bertie Russell Pipes Up

Another of my "cultural" activities, while in New York, was hearing Bertie Russell speak at the notorious red Rand School. Bertie is the little man who so long ago outgrew God Almighty and the Ten Commandments and has so fervently served the cause of raw carrots, unsulphured prunes, Marxism, "free love", the public flaunting of illegitimate sex affairs and children, and the training of the young along these lines. In his and Dora's (one of his wives) little school near London the children ran nude or dressed as they pleased.

Bertie's change, after posing as a radical pacifist and serving six months in an English prison for slurring the American armies, to now urging American armies and taxpayers to take over the burden of maintaining the British empire, is a mere bagatelle for this "great philosopher." He appeared to weigh about 90 pounds "over all" with diminutive unpressed pants flapping over short bony legs, thin deeply wrinkled chops, a receding chin like Andy Gump's and bright little circled eyes like a newly hatched sparrow's reaching for a worm, as he piped up in a voice like the rasp of a rusty hinge.

It was too funny to see, on the platform, the slavish kowtowing to this "great philosopher" of anti-God drivel. I wish a moving picture could have been taken of this "rival" of the Almighty's so that others could share my chuckles. Afterward, I bought a copy of his booklet "Why I am Not a Christian". In it he says: "I have to tell you two different things: first, why I do not believe in God and in immortality; and, secondly, why I do not think that Christ was the best and the wisest of men."

## What A Crew!

What a commentary on our educational system that a great ballyhoo was raised in 1940 in support of Bertie's appointment as instructor in the City College of New York by the following college presidents: Robert M. Hutchins of the Univ. of Chicago; Mildred H. McAfee of Wellesley; John Stewart Bryan of William and Mary College; Robert Sproul of the Univ. of California; W. B. Alexander, acting president of Antioch College; Frank Kingdon, former pres. Univ. of Newark; William Allan Neilson, Pres. Emeritus of Smith College, and, to quote the N. Y. Herald Tribune, 3/1/40: "Dr. Harry D. Gideonse, president of Brooklyn College, an advisory member of the board, said the appointment" (of Bertrand Russell) "in every way reflected credit on City College and New York City. 'He' (Bertrand Russell) 'quite obviously is one of the monuments of Anglo-American philosophy...'"

Professors from coast to coast took up the cry including: Lyman Bryson, Teachers College, Columbia Univ.; Richard B. Morris, City College; Philip Wiener, City College; William P. Montague, Barnard College; Karl Llewellyn, Columbia Law School; Robert Lynd, Columbia Univ.; Morris Cohen, City College; Hatcher Hughes, Columbia Univ.; John Childs, Teachers College; Henry Pratt Fairchild, New York Univ.; George Counts, Teachers College; David Hart, Brooklyn College; Marjorie Hope Nicolson, Smith College; Irwin Edman, Columbia Univ.; Walter Rautenstrauch, Columbia Univ.; Goodwin Watson, Teachers College; Hans Reichenbach, Univ. of Calif.; Hugh Miller, Univ. of California; Horace M. Kallen, New School for Social Research; Franz Boas, Columbia Univ.; Frederick S. Deibler, Northwestern Univ.; Ralph E. Himstead, American Assn. of Univ. Profs. at Washington, D. C.; Carl Becker, Cornell Univ.; Walter B. Cannon, Harvard Univ.; Bernard D. N. Grebanier, Brooklyn College; George W. Hartmann, Teachers College, Columbia Univ.; Edwin C. Kemble, Harvard Univ.; William H. Kilpatrick, Columbia Univ.; Arthur O. Lovejoy, Johns Hopkins Univ.; Kirtley F. Mather, Harvard Univ.; Wesley C. Mitchell, Columbia Univ.; Philip E. Mosely, Cornell Univ.; Ralph Barton Perry, Harvard Univ.; John Harman Randall, Jr., Columbia Univ.; Arthur M. Schlesinger, Harvard Univ.; Harold Saxe Tuttle, Edwin C. Roedder, W. L. Estabrooke, J. Salwyn Schapiro, John Hastings, Theodore Goodman, Alfred G. Panaroni, Alexander Lehrman, Cecil H. Kindle, Frank K. Shuttleworth, Frank Mankiewics, Oscar Janowsky, E. McClung Fleming and Walter Knittle of City College; Robert K. Speer, N. Y. Univ.; Harry A. Overstreet, City College; Alonzo Myers, N. Y. Univ.; John Bridge, City College; Lyman R. Bradley, N. Y. Univ.; Nelson P. Mead, City College; Morton Gottschall, City College; also Norman Robbins, pres. of the College Parents Assn., etc., etc.

Then "ministerial" radicals, including the Federal Council of Churches, spoke up for Bertie's appointment, such as: Rev. Robert E. Sandrus, Counselor to Protestant Students at Columbia; Rev. John Howland Lathrop, Church of Our Saviour, Brooklyn; Rev. A. J. Muste, Director Presbyterian Labor Temple; Rev. H. Norman Sibley, Univ. Heights Presbyterian Church, N. Y. City; Dr. John Haynes Holmes, Community Church, N. Y. City; Rev. Frederick Reustle; Rev. John Paul Jones; Dr. Henry Neumann, Brooklyn Soc. for Ethical Culture; Rev. Harley J. Hartman; Rabbi Jonah B. Wise; Rev. Charles L. Austin; Rabbi Michael Alper; Rev. James H. Robinson; J. S. Bixler, Harvard Divinity School; Halford E.

Luccock, Yale Divinity School; Dr. Samuel Schulman, rabbi emeritus of Temple Emanu-El; etc., etc.

Ordway Tead, chairman of the N. Y. C. Board of Higher Education, whose red activities would fill a book, sponsored a rally to uphold Bertrand Russell held under the auspices of communistic Franz Boas' American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom (Daily Worker, 4/5/40).

Of course red atheistic old John Dewey ballyhooed for Russell along with communistic Albert Einstein, who publicly opposes belief in God, and the long time and still active radical John T. Flynn. Flynn's erroneous twaddle in support of Russell included this: "'I voted for the appointment of Bertrand Russell. I know his work and believe him to be one of the foremost scholars in his field...He is a man of the highest character, whose morals will compare favorably with those of Bishop Manning. It is very unfair to him to lift a quotation out of his books to make it appear that he favors adultery.'"(N. Y. Herald Trib., 3/1/40)

## Russell's Morals

The patriotic Military Order of the World War pamphlet of Dec., 1925, which is before me, sounded a warning. Its title is "Dangerous Doctrines Being Suggested To Youth". The subtitle is: "Bertrand Russell's Book, 'What I Believe', Which Sets Forth Immoral Ideas, Open to Severest Criticism - What One College President Thinks About Such Material." To quote in part:

"It is a well known fact that among the Youth Movement 'ideals' is the disregard of social laws, the establishment of a new social order, carrying with it the doctrine of 'freedom', coupled with 'revolt against home restraint' and what is worse, its idea regarding marriage, which was pretty well established by one Harry D. Gideonse who, after talking on the movement before an Ethical Culture School in New York on November 24, 1924, added that 'these were now being changed together with the ideas which the student had as to marriage.'

"...One of the most dangerous vehicles promulgating doctrines of 'free love' and sex perversion, and which is said to be circulated in colleges (the book is in its third edition), is called 'What I Believe', by one Bertrand Russell...Particularly dangerous is the third chapter of his book dealing with 'Moral Rules', quoted below, in part, and which needs no further comment as to its deadly doctrine. Dutton & Co., the publishers, are reported to have said that from one to six copies have gone to 125 schools and colleges." Among numerous quotations cited from Russell's book are these:

"'It is evident that a man with a scientific outlook on life cannot let himself be intimidated by texts of Scriptures or by the teachings of the Church... In all stages of education the influence of superstition is disastrous...For economic reasons, a woman-teacher must not be married; for moral reasons, she must not have extra-marital sexual relations. And yet everybody who has taken the trouble to study morbid psychology knows that prolonged virginity is, as a rule, extraordinary harmful to women...At middle-and-upper class schools the matter is even worse. There are chapel services and the care of morals is in the hands of clergymen...They all condemn sexual relations between unmarried people who are fond of each other...Boys and girls should be taught that nothing can justify sexual intercourse unless there is mutual inclination...They should also be taught methods of birth-control, so as to insure that children shall only come when they are wanted...It should be recognized that in the absence of children, sexual relations are a purely private matter, which does not concern either the state or the neighbors. Certain forms of sex relations which do

not lead to children are at present punished by the criminal law; that is purely superstitious, since the matter is one which affects no one except the parties directly concerned.'"

That is the sort of "education" from which we are now gathering the rotten fruits.

A leaflet before me announces: "LECTURE EXTRAORDINARY - Mrs. Bertrand Russell - The Christian War on Sex - Sunday, Feb. 26, 1928, 8 P.M. INGERSOLL FORUM - Anti-Religious Centre of New York - Guild Hall, Steinway Building, 113 West 57th Street, New York City."

## Russell's Example To Youth

To quote one New York paper, beginning with Russell's divorce from Alys Smith: "He had asked her for a divorce and told her he was about to have a child by another woman. The other woman was Dora Black...Russell married her at once - because, he said, he wanted to legitimize their son to succeed to the earldom. During this time Russell had been expounding his views that men and women should indulge in 'marital infidelity to preserve their homes'.

"Men and women who wished to live together ought to do so, married or not. No man or woman should enter a permanent marriage relationship without having sexual experience first...Thereafter, the Russells practiced what he preached. They had a son and a daughter and determined to rear them by the same free standards. In 1927 they opened their Beacon Hill School in Hampshire, about two hours drive from London...Londoners nicknamed it 'The Paradise of Bad Children'. One story reported of the school was the visit of an adult who found the door opened by a 9-year-old girl completely nude. 'My God!' he exclaimed in consternation. 'There is no God,' the girl retorted coldly, and shut the door.

"During this time both Russell and his wife were experimenting with free love. Together they wrote 'Sex Freedom'. Russell made no effort to conceal his romantic affairs with other women. And his wife had her own. Finally, in 1933, London society, which had watched this with perturbation, was utterly aghast to read in the staid London Times the announcement of the birth of a child to 'Countess Russell and Mr. Griffin Barry'. Mr. Barry, it developed, was a journalist...

"But in the Spring of 1934 she filed suit for divorce...She asserted that Russell who was then 61, had misbehaved several times with a 20-year-old girl named Helen Spence. She went on to say that while she, the countess, had had affairs, Russell had had twice as many. The divorce was granted. Russell married Helen Spence - his third wife.

"Meanwhile, on the educational and philosophical fronts, all had not gone too well either. Back in 1924 Russell had made a number of speeches in China. When Bishop Birney of China arrived in this country to attend the Methodist Episcopal Quadrennial Conference, he labeled Russell's views as 'anti-Christian,' declaring: 'The youth movement in China includes a group which is assailing the Bible, and Bertrand Russell has lent his aid to this anti-Christian group by speaking at its meetings.'"

## The Rand School Program

To return to the Rand School pro-war, pro-"Union Now" program, of Sept. 20th, on which Bertie spoke, I observed, while waiting to hear this "star", the plaque

of red Eugene V. Debs which decorates one wall of this Rand School auditorium, named in Deb's honor, and also other walls decorated with paintings of naked ladies, more yellowish in hue, less meaty and pink than old time saloon models, one being entitled "To-morrow - Hope of Man".

## Algernon Speaks

"Milk-fed" Algernon Lee, head of red Rand School, a perfect "Algernon" with soft round face and toy moustache, lengthily and daintily held forth, upholding the League of Nations and urging that the U.S.A. join the British Empire and the "governments in exile" in warlike actions, quite unperturbed as shouts of "Louder!" kept resounding from lusty members of the audience unable to hear him. A few gentiles were present.

Wm. E. Bohn, Rand School instructor and editor of the socialist paper, the New Leader (free copies of which were on every seat as we entered), with painful grinning grimaces and groping for words, then introduced a man who, he said, is now "leading community thinking". This was the long-time radical Harry D. Gideonse (listed in THE RED NETWORK), president of Brooklyn College, who more recently has aided the Spanish Reds and various Red refugee committees, and was speaker for pro-Red, anti-Christian B'nai B'rith Day at the New York World's Fair along with B'nai B'rith's international president, Harry Monsky (Sentinel, 9/12/40). Gideonse' commendation of the rabid-for-war Jewish socialist Social Democratic Federation paper, The New Leader, distributed by Rand School, appears in its 11/23/40 issue.

Gideonse, the most effective speaker of the assortment, said that force is not bad; that the end justifies the means depending on the ends and means; that law is anchored in force; that we must remember that the Dred Scott decision and interpretation of the Constitution was settled by General Grant's army; that we must "dismantle our ideas of national sovereignty"; that we "need entangling alliances".

## Miller Speaks

Mr. Bohn, with more inimitable grimaces, then announced that Wm. Green, head of the American Federation of Labor had designated Matthew Woll as speaker on this program, to represent the A.F. of L., but that Mr. Woll, being unable to come, had sent, instead, his "dear friend" Spencer Miller, long-time director of the Workers Education Bureau. Radical "Miller" has served various Socialist Party committees, and his socialistic Workers Education Bureau has been endorsed jointly by the A. F. of L. and the socialist Cooperative League of U.S.A. which is a fellow member with the Soviet Government's Cooperatives in the International Cooperative Alliance. (See my books.)

Bull-jawed Miller held forth so long, and with so much repetition, and the seats were so hard, I felt he really owed me money for listening - even though it would be useless to attempt to collect! He insisted that labor is asking that we abandon "short of war" and that this war is a "world revolution" and this is "our world". He said he had followed the "Union Now" Streit movement for 25 years; that Bevin (the English Red) and his trade union movement intended to reorganize Britain and British society after the war, and that we must work closely with them and reorganize both countries, two British delegates being then on the way here, he said, to help this. His demand for reorganizing and reconstructing American life (along radical lines) was reiterated until the weariness of boredom overwhelmed one.

His reference to "my friend John Flynn" (of America First) and to himself

being denied, then admitted, to an America First rally, was significant to one in the know.

## Bertie Speaks

At last came the "piece de resistance", the supreme of supremes of the program - Bertie Russell himself! Bohn, in introduction, humbly repeated how "proud and happy" he was to introduce Russell and how glad he would be if he were to "speak all night", this "really great philosopher", how "very, very proud" he was to introduce Mr. Russell.

Russell, beaming with pride, then piped up like a little sparrow, with broad British accent on words like "wah", "knaow", "suppaose", and informed us that British and U.S.A. interests are identical; that the U.S.A. by being neutral in peace time starts wars, as no country would dare fight if they knew the U.S.A. were against them; that the U.S.A. must guarantee in the future all small nations like Denmark by force; that "the United States must have all the responsibilities after the war"; "it cannot evade them"; that a world-wide Federation composed of the U.S.A. and British Empire must be set up and that other countries willing to assist should also be admitted as members but that this world Federation must not insist that member countries be democracies; "We must accept Stalin's Russia", he said; also the Federation must own all of the world's air force and arms; that the Federation's World Executive must have authority to define which country is, or is not, an aggressor, have power to declare war, command the world armed forces, tax goods on countries coming from outside the Federation, control all colonial possessions in the world, enforce every treaty; that the U.S.A. "must be willing as a member of the Federation to take part in disputes all over the world", as is its duty in China now.

He made one inadvertent admission, damaging to his war talk, that "everyone knew the Versailles Treaty was unjust" and since it could not be revised "armed force was necessary".

## Why Pay for Such "Education"?

Visit university libraries and count the numbers of vicious, obscene, Communist books, the books by radicals like Goodwin B. Watson, Harold Rugg, John Dewey and a host of little "tin god" Marxist intellectuals who vaunt their anti-Christian, anti-American, anti-moral garbage in pompous verbiage. I have done this in several universities. Not one parent in a thousand, however, reading the names of their children's educators knows or bothers to find out what these men actually teach. Read what you are paying to have your children taught!

## 81 Freud Book Titles

My report on an incomplete survey I made of the University of Michigan in the Spring of 1939 includes this:

"Sigmund Freud, the Austrian Jewish exile who was a supporter of the Communist congress held in Amsterdam in 1932, has probably done more to break down moral decency and to spread sex filth under the guise of science than any other single man.

"When I visited the University of Michigan library there were counted 81 Sigmund Freud book titles. These well-thumbed volumes are evidence of University recommendations of this filth for student reading. A convinced disciple of Freud

might well become ashamed of decent family affection. Freudian 'scientific' analyses continually portray love for mother, father, sister, or brother as being based on some sordid sexual desire for them.

"Making Everything Sexual

"As an example, the following is from one of the much used copies of Freud's 'Interpretation of Dreams' in the University of Michigan Library (Library card number 616.8F9T-T138,1913), page 257: 'It is correct to say that there is no series of associations which cannot be adapted to the representation of sexual facts. I conclude with the dream of a chemist, a young man, who has been trying to give up his habit of masturbation by replacing it with intercourse with women. Preliminary statement...'

"(Page 242) 'If with my patients I emphasize the frequency of the Oedipus dream of having sexual intercourse with one's mother - I get the answer...I can assure the reader that veiled dreams of sexual intercourse with the mother are a great deal more frequent than open ones to the same effect. There are dreams about landscapes and localities in which emphasis is always laid upon the assurance 'I have been there before'. In this case the locality is always the genital organ of the mother; it can indeed be asserted with such certainty of no other locality that one 'has been there before'.

"(Page 241) 'We have already asserted elsewhere that dreams which are conspicuously innocent invariably embrace coarse erotic wishes, and we might confirm this by means of numerous fresh examples...'

"Moral Garbage

"Parents who are as revolted at reading such a characteristic excerpt from Freud as I am to insert it, should bear in mind that the pages and pages of degenerate, unprintable dream 'examples' given in connection with it, not cited here, are even more revolting, and that all of this is in print and in the University of Michigan and other college libraries in constant use by fine young people sent there by their parents to be dosed by such poison. It would be better if parents, instead of their children, read Freud until they became angry enough to clean such anti-Christian, moronic, moral garbage out of the educational institutions attended by our nation's children."

Freud was chosen in 1937 by the votes of Jewish communities all over the world from a list of 420 suggested names as one of the 120 living Jews most illustriously HOLDING UP "LIVING IDEALS TO JEWISH YOUTH".

"RUSSELL DENIES EXISTENCE OF DEITY BEFORE MORE THAN 2000 YESTERDAY

"This is the bold heading in the Feb. 19, 1939, issue of The Michigan Daily. Below it appears the picture showing Bertrand Russell, with 'Professor DeWitt Parker emerging from the Graduate Building after his morning lecture.'" And, typical of current apostasy was the admission that Russell "presenting the agnostic point of view" was "sponsored by the Student Religious Association."

What They Read at College

In addition, in the Univ. of Michigan library card index I counted cards on books by the following authors listed in the official catalogues of the Soviet Government's "International Publishers" and the Communist Party's "Workers Library Publishers", as follows: Henri Barbusse (French Communist) (16); Max Beer (16); Anthony Bimba, the Central Committeeman of the Communist Party who when

sued for blasphemy was defended by the American Association for Advancement of Atheism, the Garland Fund and the American Civil Liberties Union (2); Earl Browder's "What is Communism" (3); Emile Burns (5); Alan Calmer (2); Wm. Peyton Coates (1); Henry David (2 copies); Horace B. Davis (1); Jerome Davis (12); Paul De Kruif (1); Robt. W. Dunn (8); R. Palme Dutt (5); Karl Marx and Friederich Engels (41); also cards on books covering Marx and Engels (79); Ben Field (1); Vera Figner (1); Louis Fischer (3); Wm. Z. Foster (5); Ralph Winston Fox (6); Joseph Freeman (4); Harry Gannes (1); Michael F. Gold, columnist of the Daily Worker, (2); Maxim Gorky (2); Jack Hardy (2); Wm. D. Haywood (1); Granville Hicks (3); Leo Huberman (1); Grace Hutchins (1); Allen Hutt (1); Frank Jellinek (1); Susan Myra Kingsbury (7); Peter A Kropotkin, Russian revolutionist, (15); Jurgen Kuczynski (6); Nadezhda Z. Krupskaya, Lenin's widow, (1); Joshua Kunitz (4); John Langdon-Davies (8); Joseph Lash with James Wechsler (1); V. I. Lenin (35); Gustav Mayer (1); Gustavus Myers (1); Wolf Abram Nodel (1); M. N. Pokrovsky (5); John Reed (1); Anna Rochester (8); F. L. Schuman (13); Sin Fu Seng (1); Agnes Smedley (1); John L. Spivak (1); Josef Stalin (20 cards including books about Stalin); John Strachey (7); Anna Louise Strong (16); D. Tanin (1); Charlotte Todes (1); Sidney and Beatrice Webb (32); Albert Rhys Williams (5); Walter Wilson (1); V. A. Yakhontoff (4); Samuel Yellen (1).

Cards on books by the following authors, members of the executive and national committee of the communist League of American Writers, in the Univ. of Michigan library included: Newton Arvin (2); Isador Schneider (2); James T. Farrell (20); Lewis Mumford (22); Richard Wright (4); Malcolm Cowley (3); Matthew Josephson (6); Alfred Kreymborg (4); John Howard Lawson (4); Edwin Seaver (1); Genevieve Taggard (1); Horace Gregory (2); Grace Lumpkin (1); Clifford Odets (5); Paul Peters (2); and Corliss Lamont, atheist head of the communist Friends of the Soviet Union and participant in the Congress of the above, (2); Erskine Caldwell (2); Jos. Freeman (4); and Mike Gold (2).

In a very incomplete survey, 189 were counted covering books on the subject of Communism, 76 cards for books on the subject of the Soviet Union, 656 cards listing books by radicals, 74 cards on Materialism (Atheism) and 81 cards on the filthy Sugmund Freud. But among the many Massachusetts House Reports in the Library, the one exposing and condemning Communist subversive activities was noticeable by its absence.

## Winchell Again

While in New York, a lovely big dinner party was given for me. How I enjoyed meeting old friends! Warmongering Walter Winchell, who distributed Communist John L. Spivak's libelous book to every member of Congress, and who keeps the radio hot with lies concerning me and all other sincere patriots, suspected of disinclination to die for his co-racials abroad, reported (9/26/41): "Liz Dilling is in our midst. Had a party in her honor at the Griffin t'other night. Lizzy made a talk and called ye ed a warmonger and her persecutor. She said that her plans to get us boycotted out of business were 'proceeding according to plan'. Sounds like a D.N.B. announcement from Berlin."

But, Moscow's old trick of pinning a Nazi label on any and every opponent is becoming hackneyed since it has become necessary to pin it on 80% of our people. When every Jewish paper and commentator in the country yells for war this is called "patriotism" but, when Lindbergh says they yell for war this is called "anti-Semitism" or "Naziism".

## Why Did Katherine Lewis Resign?

Supposedly, because of Lindbergh's reference to the current Jewish enthusiasm

for U.S.A. involvement in the present war, Katherine Lewis, daughter and assistant of John L. Lewis, a faithful "fellow-traveler" of the Communist Party line ever since the C.I.O. was organized, has resigned from the national board of America First. (Chicago Times, 10/23/41.) But, meantime, bear in mind that the Communist Party line changed from isolationism to intervention when the Nazi-Soviet pact was broken.

## Red Methods

A most interesting and cultured European whom I met while in New York told me how he had been captured and imprisoned in Russia at the end of the World War and was shifted from prison to prison during and after the bloody Red revolution; how in 1918, an epidemic of typhoid and malaria broke out among the 40,000 prisoners in the Russian prison at Totskoylager where he was incarcerated. The Reds had no medicines and, becoming fearful of the epidemic spreading, they burned the whole prison, prisoners and all; he was one of a very few who succeeded in escaping.

## They Are Crushing Opposition

I was shocked to discover, in New York, how thoroughly the enemy has bored from within or utterly shattered every anti-Red organization there.

The American Patriots, who formerly held fine meetings, have long since folded up, broken up from within. A. Cloyd Gill was with the American Patriots until their finish. Reports of his friendly relations with pro-Red, anti-Christian B'nai B'rith were current when I was there in 1938-9 just before the American Patriots' demise.

Last year, when I was in New York, my friend Jo Kamp who, through his Constitutional Educational League, has issued such excellent releases, was worried to death about paying his 'phone bill, etc. Cloyd Gill has been with Jo Kamp since Gill's unpleasant severance last fall from American Women Against Communism, directed by my friend Mrs. A. Cressy Morrison. Her organization, recently, was offered large financial help, for the use of its name, to be supplied from some unnamed source, by a person who gave Gill as his only reference. She has wisely refused this "aid", I understand.

Recently, when I 'phoned the Constitutional Educational League in New York, to speak to Jo Kamp, Mr. Gill, who answered, told me Kamp was honeymooning in the South. Although I cannot recall meeting Mr. Gill, he said very pleasantly that he had met me. So, I frankly questioned him about his policies and the reports I had heard. I had noted a change in the last Constitutional Educational League release, a change savouring of that so-familiar B'nai B'rith, Friends of Democracy propaganda "line", a crescendo which murmurs against "Communism" at the bottom rising to howling against "Nazis" and "Fascists" like Lindbergh (the label pinned on all opponents these days) up to bellowing against "anti-Semitism."

I had seen the letterhead of the Veterans Peace Temple of 1939 with Milton Solomon's name as chairman and A. Cloyd Gill's as executive vice-chairman. As Milton Solomon lists his connection with pro-Red, anti-Christian B'nai B'rith, in "Who's Who in American Jewry", I asked Gill about this. He readily admitted this association and expressed the highest admiration for Solomon and also for B'nai B'rith as an organization.

With sincerity, I complimented Gill on his former chart exposing the radicalism of the Federal Council of Churches, distributed by American Women Against

Communism. He chuckled and said that it had certainly surprised Federal Council leaders who asked, to quote, "'Can this be the same Gill who used to be so socially minded and who worked so closely with us?' But," said he, "It is the Federal Council that has changed, not I. When I helped them draw up their 1919-20 Steel Strike Report I used to meet with them every night". He seemed proud of the Report.

The Federal Council and the Steel Strike

Of course, anyone who has studied and kept records on the subject knows that the Federal Council has never changed since the day it was organized and adopted the Social Creed of the Churches praised by Lenin! Also, anyone familiar with the history of the 1919-20 Steel Strike, led by communist Wm. Z. Foster, and of the stench raised by the Report on it issued by radical Federal Council leaders, would be as shocked as I was to hear him admit this!

Red Bishop McConnell of the Federal Council of Churches, who headed the Commission in whose name this Report on the 1919 Steel Strike was issued, has been active in leading communist activities to date. In "Fight" magazine (6/37), the magazine of the Communist Party's American League for Peace and Democracy, is an article entitled "Steel - By Bishop Francis J. McConnell as told to Dorothy McConnell".(His daughter and a staff member then of this Communist magazine and organization.)

In this article McConnell mentions his conversations with Communist Wm. Z. Foster who agitated this revolutionary 1919 Steel Strike embracing 356,000 men and says: "At the very end Firzpatrick and Foster came to us and asked us to try our hands at arbitration with the United States Steel Corporation...Mr. Gary refused to arbitrate. The men on strike, he declared, were ' Bolsheviki' and better out of the mill... With the publication of the Steel Report by our Commission, some time after the close of the strike, a howl went up from steel officials and their sympathizers all over the country..."

The Dept. of Justice on the Strike

A Dept. of Justice report, issued 5/6/20, which is before me, concerns this same Federal Council Steel Strike Report and states that investigators were sent to Pittsburgh, to quote, "for the purpose of investigating the steel strike and that all of these investigators were more or less radicals and that they were utilized by W. Z. Foster...in presenting his side of the strike." It also covers the records of various professional Red agitators, involved along with Federal Council reds like Harry Ward, recent head of the Communist Party's American League for Peace and Democracy in whose magazine Bishop McConnell's above article on the strike appeared.

Gill said that his next brochure would be entitled "The Jew is My Neighbor" and that he would send me a copy. He has since done so with the request for my comment. I asked him whom he considered the outstanding anti-Communist Jews. He mentioned Judge Jos. M. Proskauer and his American Jewish Committee and one Simon Lazarus of Columbus, a department store owner who, he said, "gave me $3200 for just one of my projects. In fact," Gill said, "the greatest support I have had through the years has been from the Jews!"

Gill's Pamphlet Razzing Lindbergh

The full title of Gill's booklet which he sent me is "The Jew is My Neighbor - An Open Letter to Uncle Sam's Problem Child - Charles A. Lindbergh". It reads like a B'nai B'rith harangue and is as full of inaccuracies. It berates Lindbergh

and his "mischief-making Quislings", denounces the current Senatorial inquiry into motion-picture war-propaganda, upholds "aliens" and, copying red Birkhead's Friends of Democracy line says: "For your information, Charles, a recent national survey of Fifth Column elements in the United States showed approximately 700 groups definitely listed as belonging to the Fifth Column...However, not one of the important and typically Jewish Organizations is in the Fifth Column Roster." (Baloney! Zionist collectives financed from America are as Marxian in practice in Palestine as Sovietism.)

In his booklet Gill upholds the Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (long officered by officials of Kuhn Loeb & Co. whose late head, Jacob Schiff, financed the Russian Revolution) which has poured millions of dollars into Soviet Russia in recent years and is interlocked with the American Jewish Committee. Gill also quotes in his booklet a speech by Judge Proskauer, executive committeeman of the American Jewish Committee.

## Gill's Leading "Anti-Reds"

The American Jewish Committee is tied in with every radical project. The Associated Press, 6/18/38, announced the union for united action of the American Jewish Committee, the (Zionist)American Jewish Congress, headed by red Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, the pro-Red, anti-Christian B'nai B'rith and the socialist Jewish Labor Committee (of about a half million members, now financing the carrying on of Red underground work abroad).

Proskauer's fellow members of the executive committee of the American Jewish Committee include: Samuel I. Rosenman who writes F.D.R.'s speeches; Lewis L. Strauss, Kuhn Loeb & Co. partner; Frederick M. Warburg, another Kuhn Loeb & Co. partner; George Backer, executive of the Socialist-Communist American Labor Party and head of Ort Federation (affiliated with the Joint Distribution Committee), son-in-law of the Kuhn Loeb & Co. partner, Jacob Schiff, who financed the Russian Revolution, and owner of the New York Post; Maurice Wertheim, director of the red "Nation" and of the pro-Communist Freudian-filth center, the New School for Social Research, who married Alma Morgenthau, sister of Henry Morgenthau, Secy. of the Treasury; Louis E. Kirstein, vice-pres. of Wm. Filene Sons (whose late head Edw. A. Filene set aside not only a million dollars for socialist cooperative stores but set up the radical Twentieth Century Fund). Kirstein is director of F. & R. Lazarus & Co., of Columbus, signed propaganda appeals for Spanish Reds, is executive committeeman of the National Conference of Jews and Christians, sponsored by B'nai B'rith and the Federal Council of Churches, is a fellow member, with F.D.R. and Willkie, of the radical American Hebrew Medal Committee which has bemedaled such Red-aiders as LaGuardia, F.D.R., etc. Kirstein sat at the head table at the banquet at which alien-born Marxist-minded Felix Frankfurter, who has "master-minded" the Red movement through the American Civil Liberties Union, etc., for over 20 years, was presented with the Ford Hall Forum gold medal for 1939.

Proskauer is also one of the sponsoring board, along with leading Reds, of the American Guild for German Cultural Freedom, Alvin Johnson, head of the pro-Communist New School for Social Research being vice-president, and the chairman red Thomas Mann (See p.60 of my book THE ROOSEVELT RED RECORD AND ITS BACKGROUND for his Moscow-sponsored committee).

A letter bleating over the suicide of Ernst Toller, Jewish Communist and a former leader of the bloody Soviet revolution in Germany, which asked aid for the "many like him" who could carry on "just a little longer" with help, was sent out by the American Guild for German Cultural Freedom, in 1939, with Proskauer's name on it as sponsor.

The American Hebrew, 9/19/41, reported: "...The American Jewish Committee, the American Jewish Congress, the Jewish Labour Front, and the B'nai B'rith are combined in studies, although the Congress has established its separate bureau. They work in emulation, and not in conflict...American Jewry realizes that during the war - and probably for years after - it is the trustee of the destiny of our people in Palestine and of the remnant of our people in the continent of Europe."

## Gill's Booklet Ranked With B'nai B'rith's Stuff

The Jewish Sentinel which, according to its masthead, is "A Weekly Newspaper Devoted to Jewish Interests", gives its entire editorial page, 10/23/41, to rhapsodizing over Gill's booklet, "The Jew Is My Neighbor", headlining it "A MOST PRAISEWORTHY REPLY TO LINDBERGH" and urging the "widest circulation" for it, "that it may take its place alongside the compilations by the Council Against Intolerance in America" (a radical Jewish front co-chairmaned by George Gordon Battle, Earl Browder's attorney friend), "the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith and others". Copious quotations from Gill's booklet, included these maudlin lines to Lindbergh: "My friends - at least some of them - insist that I should hate the Jews. But, I don't."

Why misrepresent Lindbergh as hating the Jews or wanting anyone else to hate them because he said truthfully that, as a whole, American Jewry is, understandably, urging U.S.A. involvement in the world war, and that in this campaign "their greatest danger to this country is their large ownership and influence in our motion pictures, our press, our radio and our government".

This very Jewish Sentinel which denounces Lindbergh as "anti-Semitic" for saying the above has been unceasingly yelling for U.S.A. war involvement. While it would certainly be un-American if Lindbergh opposed any loyal American citizen because of race or creed, it is also un-American for any citizen to give greater loyalty to any foreign country or to any racial element at home or abroad than he gives to America and its whole people.

The same Jewish Sentinel, 10/9/41, in an ecstatic editorial tribute to the Red-aiding, world-wide Zionist leader, Justice Brandeis says: "It is to the everlasting credit of Justice Brandeis that he remained loyally Jewish" and Brandeis' services to the international Zionist racial cause are extolled as an "inspiring record of loyalty to his people and his people's cause".

Brandeis held that every Jew must "Organize! Organize! Organize!", must "stand up and be counted" as a separate race. But that policy makes for ill-feeling when the interests of a country in which Jews enjoy citizenship conflict with the interests of such Jewish international racial solidarity as he advocated. This unfortunate racial blindness was foretold by Scripture and makes the study of Biblical Prophecy the only clear guide to current events.

## Zionism is Marxist in Theory and Practice

Zionism, while frequently acting as a rival, is just as Marxist as Stalinism. The Zionist cooperatives in Palestine are carried on along socialist Soviet lines, as I observed in 1939, with religion of any kind largely omitted and 85% of the workers organized in the Histadrut Labor organization affiliated with the red Socialist International. As Scripture foretold, Jewry is returning to Palestine in unbelief.

From Palestine, recently, "leaders of all factions of Palestine Jewry" joined in broadcasting their praises to Moscow, according to the Jewish Examiner

(10/3/41) which stated: "Isaac Ben Zvi speaking on behalf of the Jewish National Council (of Palestine) said that 'Russian Jewry was and remained for us the cradle of Jewry's liberation'. Emphasizing that he voices the sentiments of a half million Jews, Ben Zvi stated: 'You brethren in Moscow...we follow with adoration the Russian heroic struggle..." (And so on) Ussishkin, "one of the fathers of the Zionist movement in Russia" praised Russia at length as the land of "full equality" for Jewry, where "the Jewish bent back has grown straight", etc.

The same issue of the Jewish Sentinel which editorially rhapsodizes over Gill's anti-Lindbergh pamphlet, reports (p.9): "A message of encouragement to the Jews of Soviet Russia was addressed this week by the American Jewish Congress" (ally of Proskauer's American Jewish Committee) "and the World Jewish Congress and transmitted through the Soviet Embassy in Washington".

A dear, kind, self-sacrificing patriotic woman friend of mine in New York told me how Gill, on the pretense that he needed to borrow a dollar from her (!), came to her apartment and pumped her at length concerning her anti-Red friends, associates and activities. Another patriot reported a similar experience.

## The Conference at Nashville

Will Rogers always said, "All I know is what I read in the papers" but I am glad that that is not true in regard to all I read in the papers about myself! I spoke, Oct. 9th, for a great Christian Conference held in Nashville in the tabernacle of Rev. Sam Swain, where I have spoken before, and met many fine people afterwards. Rev. Love of Birmingham, who was present while newspaper reporters, hostile to the conference, interviewed me, with a twinkle in his eye remarked next day: "I keep thinking about the way you handled those reporters. They came determined to smear and discredit you but they came up against something they did not expect and went out looking so mild I have to laugh! The reporter most opposed to you told Rev. Swain afterwards 'I certainly disagree with everything Mrs. Dilling says but I have to give her credit for being one of the most sincere persons I have ever met.'" Aside from some personal jibes and some errors, you can see by the enclosed reproduction that these boys could have done worse by me. At any rate, accustomed as I am to being flayed, anything less appears almost as flattery.

## Don't Worry - I Am Used To It!

Even in the patriotic camp, as in all others, there are always a few "kitty cats" who prefer gossiping and creating dissention to uniting in a common cause. Friends, the past week, have been writing me with kindly anguish over such imaginative bits circulated about me as: that I am "afraid" ever to go to Washington again; that I left the last time "weeping"; that I lecture for the Anglo-Saxon Federation (I have never even attended one of their meetings), etc., etc.

I have frequently heard the contradictory tales that I am a Catholic trying to disrupt the Methodist Church (when I expose a Red Methodist); that I am an anti-Catholic seeking to destroy the Catholic Church (when I expose a Red-aiding Catholic); and "Trigger" Norris, the preacher who killed an unarmed man and has been convicted recently of malicious libel, as he clipped over to England and back to do a "Willkie" for his B'nai B'rith friends, recently "placed" me in an insane asylum, in his own paper, that is.

After Norris printed the invention that my friend Dr. M. F. Ham, the great evangelist, had been maligned by me and other "Nazis" and had turned against us,

Dr. Ham to correct this 'phoned me long distance and has written two friendly letters denying that he had been maligned or had changed one iota from the stand he took in his conversation with me and in his letter which I quoted on page 5 of my "Trigger Norris" article.

Dr. Ham' letter to me, 9/29/41, closes with: "Trusting that you are still coming out victorious in your conflict against the anti-Christ..." His letter of 10/15/41 closes with: "The trick to discredit me is not new - I have had to fight it all in my entire ministry. The fact that you and I have the same convictions on this matter does not mean that either one of us is a tool of the other, or that we are tools of some alien powers, as some people would try to make it appear. Jesus had to fight the same subtle conspiracy...As far as I am concerned, there has been no change."

## Changing "Line", Not Purpose

My unswerving course in support of Christianity and Americanism for the past ten years has been to labor to seek then make facts available to patriots to enable them to detect and combat subversive "boring from within" all churches and organizations. "It is later than you think."

The many Red Marxist parties keep confusing our best people with their changes of "line". The same Norman Thomas who, as director year after year of the communist Garland Fund which issued the communist New Masses magazine, has supplied every phase of the Red movement, the same Norman Thomas who split his party by insistence on Socialist Party united front with the Communist Party (for militancy, some feared, would illegalize the Party) now has become a "Saint" to many patriots because of his current opposition to U. S. involvement in the world war. But he is a Marxist just the same.

The Communist Party, which abruptly reversed its fight-the-axis "collective security" policy as soon as the Nazi-Soviet pact was signed, as quickly reversed to warmongering when it was broken.

The desertion of Stalin's Communist Party by flocks of Jewish intellectuals, following the Nazi-Soviet pact, indicates no change of heart but merely resentment at Stalin's temporary "betrayal" of Jewry and their intention to build Marxism along "local" lines here in the U.S.A. under their own, instead of Moscow's leadership.

## Lyons Carves Up The Stalinists

It takes one Red intellectual to "artistically" carve up another Red former comrade. Eugene Lyons, Russian-born Jewish socialist, is one of the present luminaries of the Jewish-socialist "Social Democratic Federation" and a contributor to their paper, the New Leader, along with ex-Stalinist Benjamin Stolberg, Trotskyite Max Eastman, etc. I bought Lyon's book, "The Red Decade", after the Bertrand Russell lecture, in the red Rand School book store which is featuring it.

Of course, Lyons detests me and my anti-Marxist kind as much or more than he does the Stalinist rivals in the Socialist field. The article which he printed about me in American Mercury (July, 1939) by radical Milton Mayer was a frantic attempt to discredit me by ridicule. No one can accuse me, therefore, of being motivated by a desire to aid Lyons in the sale of his book by expressing the opinion that it is delightfully witty, brilliantly written and, with few exceptions, accurate. Nothing has ever amused me more. Page after page, he humorously relates what I have so laboriously catalogued, writing with a pen dipped

in the acid of ridicule and sarcasm, which must irk, no end, the Stalinist comrades he knows so well from the inside. But how few reading his knife-like expose of Stalinism would observe how carefully he shields Marxian socialism itself, as well as certain pet Marxist devotees who have now, like him, decided to shed Stalin or are workers in his own camp.

For example, in poking fun at former gin-drinking middle class Bohemians who became Stalinists, he says (p.129): "With the egocentric yowling of their species they rushed into intellectual slumming as heatedly as they had gone in for slummy intellectualism...A lot of budding and a few overripe novel writers suddenly became interested in the plain people and got all puffed up over their new virtue as though Upton Sinclair, Jack London and a lot of others had never written." (Marxist Jack London's appeal for revolution appears in my ROOSEVELT RED RECORD AND ITS BACKGROUND and if the Soviet-kissing Upton Sinclair has ever failed Moscow that is news!) On page 134, Sinclair Lewis, radical Thornton Wilder (see my books), are similarly shielded, etc.

Lyons' comments on proletarian Red Culture convulsed me as I have had to deal with so much of it. Anyone who has seen an exhibition of Red "art" must laugh at the truth in his description (p.128) of Stalinist artists "portraying in paint, words, stage characters or dance rhythms - the idealized 'workers' of their fond imaginations; tall men with immense biceps, and squat women with buttocks like mountains, robust and rough-hewn and chanting of sweat and blood, or revolution and dialectics."

## Help 100% Americans!

How it hurt to have to "blow" $3.00 to buy Lyons' book! With his Socialist connections he will sell plenty of copies. I want to give time soon to finish reading, then reviewing, the fascinating book by Dr. Bessie Burchett, a real 100% sound American Christian who has suffered martyrdom in Philadelphia and been retired from her important teaching position because of her patriotic opposition to Red influences in the schools. You cannot afford not to read her new book, her own interesting, vital, first hand experiences! It is only $1.50. She knows whereof she speaks and writes on the subject of "Education for Destruction". You should send for it and get others to do so. Her address is 5200 Warren St., Philadelphia, Pa.

Get Lyons' book from the public library but pay Dr. Burchett for hers. No Reds of any brand will help distribute her book for she shields no phase of Marxism! Therefore, she can only expect to be smeared as a "Nazi".

## Jan Valtin Not Anti-Marxist

Jan Valtin (Richard Krebs), the former Soviet O.G.P.U. agent who so luridly assails Stalinism and Naziism in his book "Out of the Night", is being featured and vociferously upheld by the Socialists of the Social Democratic Federation and the Socialist Party of Norman Thomas, in whose affairs and Conferences he participates. He is married to and has a daughter by "a Rabbi's granddaughter - Abigail Harris, whose father was Adriel Harris the son of the late Maurice H. Harris of Temple Israel." (Sentinel, 9/4/41)

## U.S. Trys Stalin's Rivals

One of the silliest things going on now is the trial by the U.S. Government of 28 Trotskyite Communists because of their Red revolutionary designs on our government, while the Stalinist Communists, their more powerful rivals with identical aims, are being feted at the White House and given taxpayers' Lend-Lease millions!

## The Russian War Relief Comedy

Perhaps you saw the full page newspaper advertisement in the New York Times (10/10/41) of the Russian War Relief Benefit to be given by Russian War Relief, Inc., 535 Fifth Ave., New York, at Madison Square Garden, Oct. 27, 1941, seat prices ranging from 28¢ to $10 each. To quote it: "Russia's men and women are revealing themselves to the world - brave, proud, stalwart!...The dollars you give in this cause are dollars given to freedom's cause. Our Government is providing all possible military supplies to the Government of Russia. The people of America will stretch out a helping hand to support the people of Russia..."

"THESE EMINENT AMERICANS ASK YOUR HELP ON BEHALF OF THE RUSSIAN PEOPLE" is the heading at the bottom of the page above a list of over 300 names. And what a pot pourri they are of Communists and "fellow travelers", Marxists of every shade and hue, radical educators, writers and churchmen, New Deal politicians, Jewish capitalists, stooges of the radio and motion picture industry, and representatives of the whole pack of Soviet-loving Socialists and "liberals", who so obediently reverse themselves on any policy whether from urging radical-pacifist disarmament of the U.S.A. to warmongering or anything else, when Moscow, the spiritual "Fatherland", pushes the button. These names include: Jay Allen, correspondent; Mischa Auer, actor; Dr. Frank Aydelotte, Princeton; Allan C. Balch, Calif. Inst. Tech.; Tallulah Bankhead, actress; Eugene E. Barnett, gen. secy. Y.M.C.A.; Alfred H. Barr, dir. Museum of Modern Art; Robert Benchley, actor; Aline Bernstein; Henri Bernstein, playwright; Chas. E. Beury, pres. Temple Univ.; Alice Stone Blackwell; Prof. Franz Boas, Columbia U.; Louis Bromfield, (Friends of Democracy); Edward E. Brown, pres. First Nat. Bank, Chgo.; Dr. Lewis Browne (ex-rabbi); Pearl S. Buck; Dean B. I. Burns, La. State U.; Dean C. Sidney Burwell, Harvard U.; Prof. Jos. P. Chamberlin, Columbia U.; Harry Chandler, pub. L. A. Times; Charles Chaplin; Michael Chekhov; Dr. Henry Sloan Coffin, Union Theo. Sem.; Dr. Frederick A. Coller, Mich. U.; Ronald Coleman, actor; Marc Connelly, playwright; Clark M. Eichelberger; Major George Fielding Eliot; John Lovejoy Elliott; Dr. Haven Emerson; Douglas Fairbanks (Ullman); Lion Feuchtwanger; Dorothy Canfield Fisher; Lewis Gannett; Norman Bel Geddes; Ira Gershwin; Morris Gest; Dean Virginia C. Gildersleeve, Barnard Coll.; Dr. Israel Goldstein; Dr. Frank P. Graham, U. of N. C.; Lillian Hellman; Maurice Hindus; Bishop H. W. Hobson, nat. chmn., Fight for Freedom Com.; B. W. Huebsch; Stanley M. Isaacs, pres. Borough Manhattan; Rufus M. Jones, Am. Friends Service Com.; Dean Hervey E. Jordan, Univ. Va.; Matthew Josephson; Geo. S. Kaufman; Dr. Foster Kennedy, Cornell U.; Sen. Robert Kenny, L. A., Calif.; Freda Kirchwey, Nation; Margaret I. Lamont (wife of Corliss) and Mrs. Thos. W. Lamont; Mr. & Mrs. Henry G. Leach; Gov. Herbert Lehman; Dr. Max Lerner, Williams Coll.; Rev. Thos. S. Logan (Epis.) of Phila.; Rev. Donald G. Lothrop, Boston; Robert Morss Lovett, Govt. Secy. Virgin Islands; Ernest Lubitsch; Prof. Robt. S. Lynd; Dr. J. A. McCallum, Phila.; Dr. John A. Mackay, Princeton Theol. Sem.; Judge Julian W. Mack; Maurice Maeterlinck; Thos. Mann; Dr. Karl Menninger, Topeka; Yehudi Menuhin; Francis P. Miller, Coun. on For. Relations; Dr. Robt. A. Millikan, Calif. Inst. Tech.; Dr. Wesley Mitchell, Columbia U.; Edgar Ansel Mowrer, Chgo. Daily News; Wm. Allan Neilson, Smith Coll.; Msgr. O'Dwyer, L. A. Calif.; Bishop Edw. L. Parson (pres. of the red C.L.I.D.); Clarence Pickett, Am. Friends Service Com.; Elmer Rice; Mrs. Jacob Riis; Dr. Howard Chandler Robbins, Gen. Theol. Sem.; Col. Raymond Robins; Dr. Jos. Rosen; Chester Rowell, San F.; Dr. Florence Sabin, Rockefeller Inst.; Alex Sachs; Wm. Jay Schieffelin: Vida Scudder, Wellesley Coll.; Dr. Chas. Seymour, Pres. Yale U.; James T. Shotwell, Columbia U.; Herman Shumlin; Dr. Henry Sigerist, John Hopkins U.; Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, Cleveland; Mary M. Simkhovitch; Mrs. F. Louis Slade; Edgar Snow, writer; Vilhjalmur Stefansson; Raymond Gram Swing; Myron C. Taylor (U.S. Steel Corp.); Edw. M. M. Warburg; Mrs. James P. Warburg; Allen Wardwell, chmn. Red Cross delgn. to Russia; Orson Welles; Dr. Henry Nelson Wie-

man, U. of Chgo. Divinity Sch.; Albert Rhys Williams; David Rhys Williams; Rabbi Stephen S. Wise; Mary E. Woolley, Mt. Holyoke Coll.; Efrem Zimbalist, and many more.

The inconsistency of these people calling butcher Stalin's cause "freedom's cause" equals the inconsistency of Eugene Lyons (in his "Red Decade") breathing only reverence for the "old Bolsheviks" including Trotsky who with Stalin gained power by slaughtering and torturing millions in the Red Russian Revolution which Lyons calls "the greatest single event in our epoch" (p.237 - ) while he flays Stalin on the same pages as the greatest monster of the centuries for "purging" thousands of his fellow "old Bolsheviks" by the same murder and torture treatment.

## Reds Razz Halifax

The news report of how things got out of hand at this Russian Benefit at Madison Square Garden is droll. To quote:

"Viscount Halifax, British ambassador to the United States, stood mutely before a throng of 22,000 persons at a Russian war relief rally in Madison Square Garden tonight while Soviet sympathizers shouted: 'Open up a western front!'

"Continuing against a rising storm of taunting cries of active British military aid for the Russians, the long, lean English diplomat declared that aid from the two governments - the United States and Britain - would be forthcoming. As the hubbub increased in volume, Halifax was forced to strike out the next to the last paragraph and final sentence in his prepared speech.

"New Party Line Slogan

"'Open up a western front!' is the new party line slogan of the local communist organization and supplants the policy of 'the Yanks aren't coming!' that was the policy when the Soviet-Nazi nonaggression pact was in force several months ago.

"Party workers hawked 'Open up a western front!' buttons on the street corners around the garden, while girl vendors sold the Daily Worker, official communist newspaper, at the entrance. A big banner with the words 'Knit for Russia - register here' hung in the outer lobby.

"Inside the huge sports arena, 11 huge red flags, with the golden hammer and sickle emblazoned on them, hung from the balconies. They were threaded in between the United States stars and stripes, British Union Jack, and the flags of the nations conquered by Hitler.

"Pictures on Background - of Pink

"Suspended from the ceiling and dangling 50 feet - right over the ring where a battery of lights usually glares down on perspiring fistic gladiators - was a gigantic, four-sided, hollow 'V', the British victory symbol, with photomontage pictures of grim soldires, sailors, starving children, grief-stricken mothers, plastered on a background of pastel pink.

"There was just a hint of the coming trouble when Joseph E. Davies former ambassador to the U.S.S.R. and chairman of the President's committee on war relief agencies, started to speak. There were scattered cries of 'open up a western front!' but they subsided when a stentorian voice from the gallery yelled, 'Save it for Halifax!'

"Davies pictured Russia as 'standing in the breach, on the frontier of

civilization, fighting for us'..Russia had built up her armies and 'cleansed her house of treason' while democracies slept, Davies declared. In fact, every one had slumbered except President Roosevelt, he remarked...

"Yells Delay Halifax's Start

"When Halifax was introduced by Edward C. Carter, national chairman of Russian War Relief, Inc., he had to wait several minutes, nervously fingering his script, while the yelling demonstration went on. The cries came from the upper reaches of the galleries, from the 25¢ seats (28¢ with federal tax) while the occupants of the $10 boxes in the arena looked up and glowered.

"There was applause when the British ambassador said that never before in all history had any nation shown 'a finer spirit of resistance' than had Russia, but someone in the gallery yelled: 'You didn't show it, but we did!'...

"Quoting Abraham Lincoln's words about the Civil war dead - 'The world will little note nor long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here' - Viscount Halifax stirred up some more noise when he said that in the present situation 'what counts now is not what we say but what we do.'

"'Hurray - Western front!' shrieked a heckler and the gallery began to chant: 'Western front!'

"Viscount Halifax hurried along and wound up with a declaration that altho there had been differences in the past, in the future the British and Russian would 'march side by side.' That touched off the chant from the balconies louder than ever and the ambassador stepped off the platform.

"Others who appeared on the program included: John Green, Scottish born president of the Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers of America; George W. Thompson, British trade union representative; Genevieve Tabouis, French political journalist; Benny Goodman, 'swing king'; Paul Muni, the actor; Richard Wright, Negro author of 'Native Son'" (a Communist best-seller); "Andrei A. Gromyko, soviet charge d'affaires; Clark M. Eichelberger, national chairman of the interventionist organization, Committee to Defend America, and Dr. Frank Kingdon, British born chairman of the New York City chapter of the prowar, Fight for Freedom, Inc." (Chicago Tribune, 10/28/41)

The only way to keep out of war now, it seems, is to join the British Army.

A Hoax

In my August letter I mentioned the tears Mary and I dripped when news came that one of our five regular contributors, upon whom I have, too long, depended to pay the girls and rent, was unable to continue and we lost $25 per month.

A little later, referring to this, a very "sweet" letter of encouragement arrived, signed by "Alice Haynes Jordan" of 1045 Park Ave., New York, enclosing a cheque for $250 drawn on the Harlem branch of the Corn Exchange Trust Co. She urged me to carry on and she would send the same every three months. On the strength of it, as prices were rising, I gave the girls a little raise and almost took on needed help.

We were elated with relief and surprise until my letter of thanks and literature sent to the "lady" was returned with 17¢ postage due and marked "party

unknown" and the cheque bounced back with a charge of $1.40 for bank fees! A New York friend, who investigated, reported a colored maid by that name at this Park Avenue address but whether her name was used with her knowledge or not, we do not know.

## This is the Time to Go On!

For several years, since I became unable financially to carry the expense in addition to donating my time to the work, five self-sacrificing patriots have made it possible for me to carry on factual research which, according to both patriots and Reds, was responsible for formation of the Dies Committee, and which has been felt, as one Red writer put it "in every town and hamlet in the United States." Present New Deal efforts to hector me indicate some "nuisance" value on my part.

At the same time we have built up and are continuing (short handed) to keep records of priceless value to the entire Nation. It is safe to say that there is no one active in the anti-Red fight today who has not used my material. The American Legion National Americanism Committee is only one of countless groups who have thanked me for my assistance.

If I were "smart" and did not cringe from personal begging more than from being hung and were not so tied down day and night at the work, I rightfully should be able to beg, from the thousands of people who have received my aid gratis, enough to get us increased instead of decreased office space and help.

When a second of the five kind "overworked" contributors had to discontinue last week, reducing our budget $50 more, we started measuring and figuring how we could crowd everything into one of our two office spaces to save on rent. But, even by stacking everything in aisles like a warehouse and storing some elsewhere, the problem would be how to be able to work without poking our elbows in each other's eyes!

One thinks, if only someone would donate office space, or if a number of people would only pledge small regular monthly amounts on which we could depend, we might not only make up this deficit but extend our efforts!

Never have so many people been writing in and expressing interest. But most of these real workers are "common people" with slender funds, the kind of whom Lincoln spoke when he said, "God must have loved the common people, he made so many of them!"

## From a Few of Many Nice Letters

From Redmond, Oregon: "I write to let you know of my uneasiness and anxiety. I have not heard from you since the August news letter. Has the enemy stopped your great work? All hopes and prayers are for the continuance of your patriotic and Christian work."

From Brooklyn: "Many thanks for your efforts and hope you will be able to continue on."

From Wapato, Wash.: "I enjoy your bulletins and I pass them on to friends to read. May God give you wisdom, strength and protection."

From Denver, Colo.: "I wish that the necessity for making a living did not so completely engross my time and efforts. For every true patriot should be in business with you saving our country, our free government and institutions and our

"(1) Every organization subject to foreign control which engages in political activity;
(2) Every organization which engages both in civilian military activity and in political activity;
(3) Every organization subject to foreign control which engages in civilian military activity, and
(4) Every organization, the purpose or aim of which, or one of the purposes or aims of which, is the establishment, control, conduct, seizure, or overthrow of a government or subdivision thereof by the use of force, violence, military measures, or threats of any one or more of the foregoing."

I am replying as follows:

Dear Mr. Smith:

In reply to your inquiry as to whether my "organization" falls within any of the types in Section 2 (a) of the Voorhis Act, I would say "No", unless the New Deal holds that my ten years effort to uphold the Republic and oppose Marxism and dictatorship now classifies me as the agent of the "foreign" Government-in-Exile-of-George-Washington.

While I have no "organization", in my research and writing which is purely for religious and educational purposes, I am assisted by three, sometimes more, lovely Christian women and girls. We would be glad to have you come in at any time and look us over to decide whether or not we should be registered as an army or military organization.

While we do not know how to shoot, wrestle or do Jiu Jitsu tricks, as yet, we are willing to learn whatever you care to teach us in that line; you might find the work agreeable as one of the girls is a pretty petite blonde and another a striking brunette.

Sincerely,

(Mrs. A. W.) ELIZABETH DILLING

ED:jl

A FEW CAN SAVE A NATION

Corrupt cities and nations have been saved by God if only a few persons in them showed themselves worthy of saving. "And the Lord said, If I find in Sodom fifty righteous, then I will spare all the place for their sakes." (Genesis 18:26)

And so, today, may the repentance and sincere love of God which inspired the immortal psalms of David regenerate enough Americans to save our nation.

"The fool hath said in his heart, There is no God. They are corrupt, they have done abominable works, There is none that doeth good." (Psalm 14)

"Save me, O God; for the waters are come in unto my soul. I sink in deep mire, where there is no standing: I am come into deep waters, where the floods overflow me. (Psalm 69)

"By terrible things in righteousness wilt thou answer us, O God of our salvation; who art the confidence of all the ends of the earth and of them that are afar off upon the sea:" (Psalm 65)

"Who will rise up for me against the evildoers? Or who will stand up for me against the workers of iniquity? Unless the Lord had been my help, my soul had almost dwelt in silence." (Psalm 94)

"Judge me, O God, and plead my cause against an ungodly nation: O deliver me from the deceitful and unjust man." (Psalm 43)

"The Lord bringeth the counsel of the heathen to nought: he maketh the devices of the people of none effect." (Psalm 33)

"I will say of the Lord, He is my refuge and my fortress: my God; in him will I trust...He shall cover thee with his feathers, and under his wings shall thou trust: his truth shall be thy shield and buckler...For he shall give his angels charge over thee, to keep thee in all thy ways." (Psalm 91)

"Blessed is he whose transgression is forgiven, whose sin is covered." (Psalm 32)

"Like as a father pitieth his children, so the Lord pitieth them that fear him. For he knoweth our frame; he remembereth that we are dust." (Psalm 103)

"Say among the heathen that the Lord reigneth;...he cometh to judge the earth: he shall judge the world with righteousness, and the people with his truth." (Psalm 96)

"For he is our God; and we are the people of his pasture, and the sheep of his hand. To day if ye will hear his voice, harden not your heart." (Psalm 95)

BY THE GRACE OF GOD AND YOUR HELP NEITHER MY OFFICE NOR OUR CAUSE SHALL FOLD UP!

Sincerely,

(Mrs. A. W.) ELIZABETH DILLING

ED:jl

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WOMEN'S PEACE CONFERENCE NUMBER

# THE CHICAGO LEADER

*100% American Weekly — Now entering its 27th year*

VOLUME XXVII: NUMBER 6 • FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 26, 1941 Fred R. Hunt & Sons Company, Incorporated

# PEACE MEETING OPENS SATURDAY

## CONFERENCE IS CONVENTION KEY

### Women's Organizations of Entire Nation Are to Be Represented

### SESSIONS TOMORROW AND SUNDAY

**We, the Mothers, Mobilize for America, Sponsors Gathering Convening in Chicago September 27 and 28**

We, the Mothers Mobilize for nerica, has issued the following ap- al to all women's peace groups in the United States, from its national headquarters, 27 West Van Buren Street:

"Dear Fellow Worker in the Cause of Peace:

"As you know, the frantic efforts of the administaration to push this nation into war against the will of the people, reached a climax on September 11 when the president ordred the American Navy to 'shoot first.'

"Yesterday in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, the American Legion Convention passed a resolution endorsing another 'A.E.F.' The hour has struck for the woman of America to get together and STOP the war mad minority that is leading this nation of ours to destruction. ACTION NOW IS IMPERATIVE!

"A preliminary conference to plan the Women's Peace Convention proposed in our previous letter, will be held in Chicago on Saturday and

[illegible] (a name ap- plied to anyone intelligent enough to

age, strengthened and spurred on to greater goals. A quick glance at the names listed reveals that.

All of these women have been tireless workers in the cause of peace

Mrs. Rosa Farber of the Mothers of the United States, one of the outstanding figures in mothers' organizations, has spent much time in Washington, quietly acquiring vital information, testifying before Congressional committees, ably and brilliantly representing the mothers' cause. Two other delegates from her group will participate in the conference.

Mrs. David Stanley, of the Cleveland Mothers of America, a most energetic organization, advises us that two delegates of that organization will be with us in Chicago. We have met Mrs. Closey of this group and recognize her genuine ability.

Form Indianapolis, Indiana, we will have four delegates from the Service Mothers of Indiana, a young organization, but certainly going places. We know these mothers will add enthusiasm and spirit to the conference.

A long-distance call from New York informs us that Mrs. J. Sargent Cramm of Peace House, New York, will be with us and will see that a delegate from California joins her here. Mrs. Cramm has given unstintingly of her time and money to preserve the youth of this nation from the bestial butchery of war.

Mrs. Beatrice Knowles another highly regarded worker in the mothers' cause, will participate in the conference with a delegation from a new organization, "American Mothers" which is taking the offensive immediately. In her letter Mrs. Knowles says, "We are with you 100%. If the president thinks he can put us into war we do not want—especially when the boys in the camps and the mothers on the outside are of the one and same idea—he's just plumb crazy."

## VOTERS DEMAND DRASTIC CHANGE

### Evidence of Good Faith by Leaders on Both Sides Will Be Required

### BETRAYAL OF 1940 STANDS OUT

**Collusion between Candidates in Opposing Camps Will No Longer Be Tolerated, Declares Writer**

[Reprinted from a previous issue]

By MRS. GRACE KEEFE
Secretary We, the Mothers, Mobilize for America, Inc.

Now that the party organizations are starting to make up their slates, we would suggest the advisability of "taking a look at the record" as Al Smith was wont to say in the good old days.

Just what does the Republican label on a candidate mean today? Mr. Willkie is still counted a member of that party and is scheduled to do some campaigning for certain New Dealish Republican candidates. It has been customary in the past for political parties to provide the people a choice on fundamental issues. In fact is not that the prime reason for the existence of political parties? During the last presidential campaign the two major parties failed to provide a means for expression of the public will on such vital questions as "Aid to England" and peacetime conscription. Mr. Willkie and Mr. Roosevelt, even during the campaign were in accord on these major issues. The debate on conscription

[illegible] Congress, [illegible] diately when Mr. Willkie announced his endorsement of "some form of

two and one-half years for the draftees unless they can wiggle out of it, either because of legitimate reasons or wire-pulling. This lack of honesty has occasioned a loss of faith in the government on the part of these drafted men, with a consequent lowering of morale which is the worst possible thing that could happen to an army and a most serious blow at defense if we were actually endangered as the administration would have us believe.

Well, "cash and carry" soon also went out the window and the "lend-lease bill again labeled as a bill to "keep us out of war" opened the floodgates of American wealth to be poured out to Britain China, Greece, etc. all, of course to "keep war away from our shores." A servile Congress, throwing overboard the constitution, abdicated its power and gave Dictator Roosevelt the green light. This was done despite the deluge of protests that poured into Washington and contrary to all established precedent. Hardly was the ink dry on this infamous bill, when the cry began, and despite solemn assurances of "no convoys", one bright day we were told the navy was "patrolling" the Atlantic keeping the sea lanes open. Like sheep the American people have been led, step by step. The American boys, who we were promised "again and again" would not be sent into foreign wars, are now on foreign soil occupying jointly with a warring nation the foreign land of Iceland. Now we are told the American navy will "shoot first" if hostile ships interfere in our carrying supplies to Iceland, two thousand miles away from the United States, and at this moment Congress is being asked to arm merchant ships. The whole shameful record of this deception constitutes the blackest page in our his-

[illegible] sponsibility, the situation adds up [illegible] this way.. There exists in this country



LYRL VAN RYNING
Keynoter of Women's Peace Conference Meeting at Hotel La Salle

**TENTATIVE PROGRAM FOR CONFERENCE**

**Saturday, September 27**

Registration 10:00 A. M.
Hotel La Salle—Lincoln Room

Open meeting 2:00 to 4:30 P.M.—Prayer. Singing—"Star Spangled Banner." Greetings. Opening Address—"This is Women's Business" —Lyrl Van Hyning.

4:30 to 6:00 P. M.—
Round Table Discussions. Conferences.

8:00 P. M.—
Open meeting. Special Talks by [illegible] Addresses [illegible] to be announced.

**Sunday, September 28**

pass their scrutiny. We are asking again, "What does the Republican label mean today?" What does the Democratic label mean today? If neither of them will back up the people in their fight to save the Republic and stay out of war then away with them. A new party will arise and restore the constitution with its guarantees of the inalienable, God-given rights of the individual, and the vision of liberty enlightening the world.

**FIELD NOTES**

The regular monthly luncheon for September was held in the beautiful Adams room of the Midland Hotel. Mrs. Lyrl Van Hyning presided. A capacity audience, after enjoying a hearty repast, gave rapt attention to the very interesting address delivered by Mrs. Fielding Marshall, well-known newspaper woman, who prefaced her remarks with the sincerest compliments on the work of our organization.

Speaking of her experiences at the convention of the General Federation of Women's Clubs held in Atlantic City last May, at which 4000 delegates, representing some 2,000,000 club women were present, she described the scene enacted when a resolution favoring "whatever aid is necessary" to insure Hitler's defeat, was brought up on the floor.

"Half a dozen women rose and offered their sons on the altar of freedom, but not one woman of the several thousand present spoke for peace. Mrs. John L. Whitehurst of Baltimore, Maryland, the president-elect, twice appealed from the platform for a frank expression of opinion pointing out that the resolution favored going to war, if necessary. After the second appeal, one woman, a physician unmarried rose and suggested that it [illegible] and our boys

[illegible] resolution, and the chorus of nays was almost as great as the ayes. [illegible]

PUBLIC RECORDS

"We, the isolationists (a name applied to anyone intelligent enough to read history and courageous enough to speak for himself) are not the people of the people, but because we stand in isolated units all over this great land and have no cohesion, we have been largely unheard. We must find each other, we must lift our voices in chorus, not solos—we must be heard—WE ARE FOR AMERICA—FOR A CONTINUANCE OF OUR FORM OF GOVERNMENT UNDER THE CONSTITUTION

"This convention gives us this chance—only by thus joining our hands can we make these alien-minded mouthpieces of the administration see that the people are determined not to follow Mr. Roosevelt into his war. WE, THE PEOPLE, ARE AMERICA! We don't want anyone to fight for us—we don't want emptre or possessions—we don't want to impress our way of life on those who do not like it. We know that THE BREATH OF FREEDOM DOES NOT COME FROM CANNON'S MOUTH, but by putting into practice the theory of freedom—already expressed in our Declaration of Independence.

"This is the hour of destiny for the free women of America! By all that you hold dear, your hopes for the future of your children and your country, we urge you in this crisis to put everything else aside and come to this conference or send a delegate from your organization. We will lay the plans for a gathering of women such as has *not been seen* in this nation or in the world. The courageous, intelligent womanhood of America dare not fail in this hour so fraught with peril, to measure up to the magnificent opportunity, the sacred obligation that lies upon them to save, not our own beloved country, but to rescue the human race from the degardation into which it has fallen.

"Wire or write us to when and where and how many will arrive. Arrangements will be made for your accommodation at reasonable rates.

This call goes forth on the 154th anniversary of the birth of our Constitution. In the name of the Prince of Peace we ask you to respond."

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By GRACE KREBS
Secretary, We, the Mothers, Mobilize for America

The response to our invitation to the conference to plan a nationwide Congress of Women, has been prompt and heartening. To the delegates who will assemble here to plan this congress and work out a program of cooperation, we extend our warmest welcome. The realization that so many sincere, intelligent, experienced leaders from *different sections* of the country, will have this opportunity to plan together, gives one a deep sense of gratification, a feeling of relief that at last we have found each other and can go forward with renewed courage and hope we shall be able to

are of the one [illegible] just plumb crazy."

From the very [illegible] New York, Mrs. Borwn wires us she will be with us, and this is most gratifying as these women have been sending delegations to Washington regularly and they certainly know what's going on.

Mrs. Lulu Avery, of the Minneapolis Mothers, sends a cheery card to tell us to expect a delegation from the Twin City. Mr. Andrae B. Nordskog recently put us in touch with this organization, so we know they aren't being fooled about what's happening in the world.

Mothers Mobilizing Against War, wire us they are sending two delegates. Wisconsin will be well represented by this organization.

From Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, Mrs. Maire Lohle sends word that a group from her state will join us together with Mrs. Catherine Baldwin of New York. These women have been very active in anti-war work with America First and also carried on individual efforts to arouse an indifferent citizenry to the peril that surrounds it, today. Their experience should be most helpful.

Flint, Michign, will be represented by Katherine M. Sutter of Neutral Mothers of America, and from Saint Paul, Minnesota, will come Mrs. W. H. O'Toole of the Parents of America.

Many others, whom we have heard from, are with us in spirit, but because of expense involved or because time was too short, will not be at the conference but will join in the larger gathering which we hope to set for the very near future.

Mrs. Julia I. Nicholas, of Albuquerque, New Mexico, *writes:*

"Dear Mothers:

"I send my deepest regrets that I am unable to attend your conference and want you to know myself and friends are with you 100%. If we had more time we could have sent some sort of delegation. We surely hope and pray you will meet with *the greatest of success.*"

Mary Alice Ball, our brilliant correspondent in Gulfport, Mississippi, writes:

"Dear Mrs. Keefe:

"Circumstances I cannot manage deny me the happiness of attending your pre-convention conference. To the convention itself I hope to be able to come. What American could fail to be inspired, and steeled, by the principles and purposes of We, The Mothers? Heaven bless the conference and the convention!"

From San Francisco, *California*, Mrs. H. Archbold, secretary TheMothers' Committee, writes:

"Dear Mrs. Van Wyning:

"We thank you for your kind invitation to send a delegate to your conference, but the present state of our treasury makes it impossible to do so at this time. We wish you every success and hope we shall be able to send a delegate to the convention."

These are typical of many others who send their blessings and prayers and express high hopes for the success of this meeting. To these we extend our sincerest appreciation and we hope to see them all at the convention which will follow this conference as quickly as plans can be completed.

Mrs. C. E. Young of New York City, writes: "I do hope your meeting will be a success, and I can assure you millions of patriots are with you."

As this goes to press we are still expecting to hear from a number of other notable leaders in the cause for which we are striving, the salvation of our Republic and its sons.

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The statement has been constantly reiterated that the majority of the American people favored "aid to Britain," but the fact is the people never had an opportunity to express an opinion *against it.* Both major candidates declared themselves for it, and millions of people voted for Willkie, in spite of his stand on that question, not because of it, as they regarded him as less likely to involve this nation in war than the reckless Mr. Roosevelt. The people were deliberately trapped into this situation. Subsequent events revealed Mr. Willkie in his true colors, but the people meanwhile are still without a party to express their will clearly and fearlessly on the question of intervention or *non-intervention in foreign affairs.* The huge defense program that is disrupting the entire economic life of this nation, the vicious conscription that has needlessly sundered men from homes and jobs to stagnate in army camps unequipped to handle them, would have had no reason for being if we had retained our neutrality and refused to repeal the arms embargo. That was the first step as Senator Borah warned us, even though the "cash and carry' provision was added to confuse the people into thinking we were "strengthening our neutrality." This deliberate deception of the people has been typical of the method pursued by the administration in putting over its program. The repeal of the arms embargo proved the undoing of our neutrality, as any thinking person could foresee. The business interests now had a stake in the war as the arms trade took on new life. Of course we were in reality aiding Britain and unthinking persons accepted the situation without inquiring just how we got that way.

Conscription was sold to the people under the less offensive title of "selective service" and the year's training as a much needed program of development for our youth. Well, you know the rest of that bedtime story—

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

# SABATH GIVES VENT TO ANGER

## Nettled by Queries, Administration Echo "Blows Up Four Times"

## SCHUETZ FEARS HITLER-BRITAIN

### Admits to Women He Is Apprehensive of Compact between Germany and England against America

(Reprinted from a previous issue)

Congressman Schuetz and Sabath who voted for the extension of the draft that will keep American boys in army camps for two and one-half years, were questioned, in individual interviews during the past few days, by representatives of We, the Mothers, Mobilize for America. The first colloquy is described by a member of the interviewing group as follows:

Mr. Sabath, a gentleman who boasts of thirty-five years in Congress, proved to be highly emotional. During the course of the one-hour interview, Mr. Sabath *literally* blew up four distinct times. In fact, the interviewers were concerned lest he get a stroke, so vehement were his gestures and words. The remarks that seemed to arouse his ire particularly were the statement that we represented 85 per cent of the people, when he accused us of causing dissension and dissatisfaction in the army, and our reminding him that even the dumbest person could understand the injustice of keeping American men in the army *two and one-half years* when we were not at war, while in Canada, which is at war, only four months is required.

We calmed him down each time, and proceeded to the discussion of the issues. We reminded Mr. Sabath of the fact that his vote alone caused the bill for two and a half years to pass, with the consequent demoralization of the army when the men lost faith in their government's promises. Mr. Sabath said he was not the only one; there were 400 others, but we repeated only one vote did it, and we held him responsible. He affirmed his faith in Mr. Roosevelt and his promises to keep us out of war. He said he did not think Knox and Stimson were right in advocating our further involvement, but when asked what could be done about removing them, offered no solution. He said their appointments had been presumed by the [illegible] asked why billions of American goods, [illegible] Mr. Schuetz told the mothers they did not understand the article, but left him food for thought when we again reminded him that this discrimination against *American* youth was something the politicians couldn't laugh off. The simplest person understood the issue.

Mr. Schuetz, Congressman from the seventh district, *told* the mothers that Roosevelt is pro-British, but nevertheless he is willing to vote for unlimited funds for England.

The interview with Congressman Schuetz is described by one of the interviewers as follows:

At the hour appointed by Congressman Schuetz, three representatives of We, the Mothers, Mrs. Helen Wetherall, president of the Seventh District unit, together with Mr. Lyri Van Hyning and Mrs. Grace Keefe, appeared at the Congressman's office at 3620 Kilbourn Avenue, which by the way is in the middle of a prairie close to the railroad tracks, where Mr. Schuetz conducts a lumber business.

By way of introduction, Mrs. Wetherall recalled to the Congressman her last interview when in Washington, D. C., he advised her to go home and tend to her knitting. Laughing, he admitted the acquaintance but said he still felt that way.

The first question was concerning the vote on the extension of the draft. It was pointed out to Mr. Schuetz that his vote kept these men, who had relied on the administration's promise of a year's service, for two and one-half years, whereas in Canada, actually at war, only four months was required and no overseas service. Mr. Schuetz said he wasn't bothered about what Canada did, in fact he maintained they did not even have conscription in Canada, which, it happens is not the case.

Mrs. Keefe brought up the question of the size of his district where 914,000 people had but one Congressman, thus effectively depriving two-thirds of the voters in his district of proper representation. He maintained this was not a matter for Congress to worry about; that we should start suit to get redistricting. Mrs. Keefe pointed out the absurdity of voting billions ostensibly for the purpose of establishing or protecting democracy in foreign nations when right here in Illinois the people were unable to maintain it. Upon his insistence that Congress had no responsibility, Mrs. Van Hyning took sharp issue with him and quoted the constitution as her authority. Mr. Schuetz denied that the constitution made such provision, but when after considerable searching a copy of the constitution was finally produced, Mrs. Van Hyning read the section referred to as follows: "The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the Congress of the United States and within every subsequent term of ten years in such manner as they shall by [illegible]

[illegible] was launched in Gary, Indiana, last Friday evening when Mrs. Lyri Van Hyning and Mabel Willard from Chicago headquarters made the trip at the request of Mrs. C. B. Wells, and told the story of our work and our plans for the future. A warm reception was accorded them and we know this fine group of women will go forward rapidly.

The following officers were elected:

Pearl L. Brandt, 3566 Buchanan, Gary, Indiana, president;

Mrs. C. B. Wells, vice-president;

Mrs. L. F. Maybaum, secretary; Mrs. E. Haack, treasurer.

On Thursday, September 4, the South Side Chapter staged the most successful card party and rally to date. A crowd of 500 occupied two halls and while they enjoyed the games and refreshments and the other activities, officers of the organization distributed the new folders with the message to the Congressmen, and many new memberships were obtained.

Mrs. Van Hyning gave one of her stirring addresses, telling the story of our ceaseless efforts to awaken the women to the power that is in their hands, of the inescapable responsibility women of this generation have to rescue this generation from the insanity of war. "Women must learn how to vote intelligently: these men who go to Washington to represent them have power over their lives and their fortunes and the lives of their children." Women cannot plead ignorance; in this day of literacy, it behooves every one of us to learn the facts; the penalty for indifference we see clearly today.

The proceeds of this party will be used for the support of the Washington and Chicago headquarters. It is from the quarters and dimes of the masses that this organization expects to draw its support, and while the sums may be small, the numbers are legion. These women know what we are fighting for, and as long as we keep faith with them we shall never lack support.

The next meeting of this energetic chapter will be on Thursday, September 11, at the usual place, 7822 South Union Avenue, at 8:15 p. m.

A Study in Contrasts — Housewives Take Note

Britain releases million pairs of silk stockings.

London, August 27 — One million pairs of silk stockings found unsuitable for export will be released for sale in shops throughout Britain after tomorrow at fixed prices.

American mothers, wives and daughters are asked by O. P. M. to wear cotton. Why?

"Bonad chicken added to lend-lease larder."—Chicago Tribune.

The department of agriculture yesterday announced it wishes to send abroad chicken that parlors' epicures [illegible]

The Federal Surplus Commodities Corporation, the government buying

"We are also for defense against: The hysterical antics of Mr. LaGuardia and his ilk.

"Chicago's true Americans need no advice or instructions from an alien-minded New Yorker."


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Room 205, 37 W. Van Buren St., Chicago.

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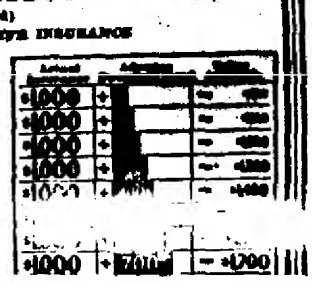
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THE IDEAL FORM OF LIFE INSURANCE

The National Underwriter of May 31, 1941, contained an article by a vice-president and actuary of one of the large Life Insurance Companies, urging the separation of Protection from Investment.

He urged the sale of more protection and less investment in Life policies. Too often he said, "Life Policies are surrendered or inadequate insurance carried because of the compulsory investment fea-

[illegible] render the policies subject to lapse when breadwinners need cash values in financial emergencies."





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he did not think Knox and Gumson were right in advocating our further involvement, but when asked what could be done about removing them, offered no solution. He said their appointment was due to pressure by the newspapers for representation of the Republicans in the cabinet. When [illegible] of American goods, foodstuffs, etc., were being given to England while millions of Americans were in want, he said that England was giving us something for it, but when pressed to tell what we were getting, a gleam of satisfaction lit up his face as he repeated that we were being given something in return. What is was, we couldn't imagine, unless, perchance it might be the refugees that are flocking to our shores.

Quizzed about his illegally representing a district in the state when but little over a hundred thousand people resided therein, he maintained he had tried to get redistricting so that he might have a larger constituency, but downstate people had blocked it, fearing to give Chicago a majority in the state legislature. We pointed out that the politicians in power were more responsible for maintaining the status quo, which favored them.

Mr. Sabath brought up the Hitler bogey of penetration in South America and loss of our foreign trade. We told him our foreign trade consisted in giving everything away, which wasn't exactly profitable, and Mrs. Van Hyning scoffed at the idea of Hitler taking over South America, where, she said practically every country has a dictator as able as Hitler, and many of them could show him tricks. This, she told him, was from practical experience, and when he said, "Oh, so your's a South American," she pointed to her D.A.R. pin and told him she was an American and of American descent since 1700, and every generation of her family had served in the armed forces of the nation when the country needed them, something that could not be said for the Roosevelt family.

Another outburst of Mr. Sabath's occurred when we asked him why we were giving butter to England, when American children had to go without. His only answer was choleric anger. He told us we were prejudiced, unfair and misinformed, whereupon Mrs. Van Hyning asked him if he would be willing to debate the subject on a public platform. He said he would with any fair-minded person. That, probably, would be someone unlike ourselves, probably one of the "aid to Englanders" who have led the people into the trap that now yawns before them. We reminded Mr. Sabath that the young men whose liberties have been taken from them, never had an opportunity to vote on this drastic step, whereupon he told us these young men of 20 and 21 were not competent to vote on such issues. He has no children of his own, probably one reason he is so careless with other people's children. Mr. Sabath, unable to endure any more questioning rose

the section referred to as follows: "The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the Congress of the United States and within every subsequent term of ten years in such manner as they shall by law direct." Mr. Schuetz told the mothers they did not understand the article, but should have a constitutional lawyer interpret it, whereupon Mrs. Van Hyning said she had done just that.

The question: "Will you vote for additional billions for the lease-lend appropriations?" Mr. Schuetz said he most certainly would. "Then you are in favor of giving unlimited aid to England," asked Mrs. Keefe. To which he said, "I am, and you can quote me on that." Asked whether that represented the sentiments of his constituents, Mr. Schuetz said he thought so. "When the lend-lease bill was up, Mr. Schuetz, did your mail run for or against it?" was the next question, to which he replied, "The majority of the letters were for the bill, those against it were mostly signed by the same person." He said that only a few letters were received against conscription, but he admitted his mail was two to one against extension of the draft. Asked whether he thought the people of his district should be followed on this legislation, he said he had confidence in Mr. Roosevelt, and would be guided by his wishes.

"Then you do not believe the people are competent to determine the policy of the nation on such issues," he was asked. He quoted in answer Mr. Roosevelt's pledge that our boys would not be sent to foreign soil. But, we reminded him, American boys have been sent to Iceland, certainly foreign soil, and Congress wasn't consulted about it. He told us that Iceland was a peaceful country. His reasoning seemed to be that this made a difference, and also he said British troops were being withdrawn from Iceland. We pointed out that the business of keeping lines of supplies open to Iceland would likely cause more incidents like the Greer. It was all too evident that Mr. Schuetz is not representing the people in his district, but is just another rubber-stamp for Roosevelt. He says he would not vote for war, but such words are empty when he has given Roosevelt power to involve us without any formal declaration. He reiterated his faith in Roosevelt's promises, but we reminded him he was taking a dangerous course in ignoring the wishes of the people in his district. "What are we going to do, Mr. Congressman, if after we give away everything, in a few months England and Hitler are found fighting side by side?" to which he gave the amazing answer: "That's what I am afraid of."

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FIELD NOTES

By GRACE KEEFE
Secretary, We, the Mothers, Mobilize for America

[illegible] of our organization

cation, why?

"Boned chicken added to lend-lease larder."—Chicago Tribune.

The department of agriculture yesterday announced it wishes to send abroad—chicken that packers' deboning mats will cost the taxpayers $1 per pound or more in lend-lease funds.

The Federal Surplus Commodities Corporation, the government buying agency, asked for bids on unspecified quantities of the canned chicken meat—the offers to be in the hands of the FSC on or before September 15.

Canning company officials and meat packers questioned said that canned chicken is an expensive food to give away.

While—in Chicago as a prelude to a blessed event—

Mrs. Jean Wagner, 35, expecting the arrival of the stock any minute, evicted from flat at 620 West 47th Street, stands with her ten sons in the alley—where landlord moved all their belongings. To add to the tragedy, father John, world war veteran—his mind snapped from worry—is found on road near Joliet.

Again—why?

Why are we feeding England chicken and not giving the feathers to our own needy?

Milk, butter, eggs, meat all being given to England by the ton while soaring prices limit consumption by the American people. Our farmers are now being told by Claude Wickard they must produce more so that England and those nations "fighting aggression" can be fed. Ye gods—how did we get this way?

# VOTERS DEMAND DRASTIC CHANGE IN BOTH PARTIES

(Continued from page one)

strategic points including the evening meeting at the Coliseum when Mr. LaGuardia went through his antics. We have had many requests for copies of this bill, which reads:

"We Are for Defense Against:

"Dissipation of our resources for the benefit of our only enemy.

"Aiding England to maintain her overlordship over hundreds of millions of serfs.

"Against giving away billions of dollars' worth of goods, including butter, meat, milk, eggs, and 'boneless chicken' to foreign nations while millions of American children are ill fed, ill clad, ill housed.

"Against the vicious discrimination that keeps millions of American youth *in army camps for 2½ years.*

"We are not at war, Canada is. They have four months conscription. Hundreds of thousands of British subjects are in this country draft-exempt. They take our American sons' jobs.

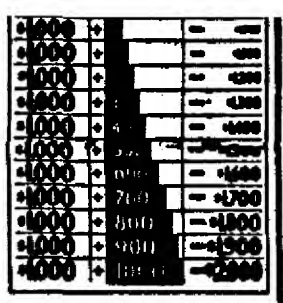
"England has 50,000,000,000 men of draft age. Why does she want American boys slaughtered on the soil of


[illegible] Life Insurance Companies, urging the separation of Protection from Investment.

He urged the sale of more protection and less investment in Life policies. Too often he said, "Life Policies are surrendered or inadequate insurance carried because of the compulsory investment feature in the policy."

He pointed out how premium mean inability to buy needed protection and render the policies subject to lapse when bread-winners need cash values in financial emergencies."

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**2** THE CITIZENS KEEP AMERICA OUT OF WAR COMMITTEE. Weekly articles appear in these columns describing the activities of this virile organization, together with the weekly views of Captain William J. Grace, chai[illegible] Ford Southard, secretary, as well as [illegible] ine Americanism from the many eminent speakers the nation have been unearthed by these courageous women and exposed to public attention in the columns of this paper. Watch every issue for their authenicated weekly announcements on the issues of peace and war. No record of contemporaneous events is complete which fails to include their activities.

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2 THE CITIZENS KEEP AMERICA OUT O[F] WAR COMMITTEE. Weekly [illegible] the organization, together with the weekly views of Captain William J. Grace, chairman, and Earl Southard, secretary, as well as expressions of genuine Americanism from the many eminent speakers who address the gatherings of this influential anti-war group. The forthright declarations ringing with the true spirit of patriotism, which emanate from this source have for many months been an inspiration to thousands of readers of this paper. Do not fail to follow the progress of this body of determined defenders of the Republic and its supporting institutions.

3 WE, THE MOTHERS, MOBILIZE FOR AMERICA, Inc. This growing band of militant, patriotic women has selected this paper as a vehicle for conveying weekly messages to its members and to the reading public, regarding its progress and views on the significance of passing events in the theater of national and international affairs. Activities of many subversive groups operating in various parts of the country to the detriment of

[illegible] also appearing frequently in [illegible] [illegible] making a supposedly complicated subject seem simple and understandable. His achievements as secretary of the Midwest Monetary Federation are making history.

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# THE CHICAGO LEADER

FRED R. HUNT, Editor
Entered as second-class matter, February 11, 1916, at the postoffice at Chicago, Illinois, under the Act of Congress, March 3, 1879.

VOL. XXVII: September 26, 1941 No.6

## EDITORIAL

### "A DROP OF A BUCKET"

(Continued from a previous issue)

In the course of an interview by members of *We, the Mothers, Mobilize for America*, with a Chicago Congressman during the past week, a startling admission was drawn from him by the inquisitors. The following question was propounded: "What are we going to do if, after we give away everything, in a few months England and Hitler are found fighting side by side?" To the amazement of his interlocutors, he answered, "That's what I'm *afraid of!*"

The Congressman in question has been consistently regarded as a rubber-stamp for the administration, doing the bidding of the executive no matter what was asked of him. He admits that he is willing to give, and intends to help in giving billions of America's money to the British Empire. And in the same breath he *confesses* that he looks upon England as an ally or quasi-ally of so fickle and treacherous a nature that she may at any time literally slap us in the face and join hands with Hitler in an anti-American or anti-anybody campaign to retain her prestige and gain world-supremacy.

In the face of this Congressman's telltale admission, what defense could he rationally offer to a charge that he has "sold his country down the river"? For if he is committed to so asinine a proposal as giving his nation's wealth away to another people with no semblance of an equivalent therefor, the least virtue one might wish to ascribe to him would be enough consideration for his constituents' weal to select as the beneficiary of our largesse a nation that is dependable, honorable, and not given to betraying the confidence of a friend and comrade-in-arms. By his own admission, on the financial shows which [illegible] to her military campaigns last World War. She has successfully done so thus far during the present war. But her attempt to fool all our people all the time is doomed to ultimate defeat. Some day this nation will wake up: and we trust the awakening will not prove to be a greater shock than we can bear.

For many months past we have adjured our readers to judge England "not according to the appearance, but to judge *righteous* judgment." For decades on end British cunning has proved more than a match for Yankee intelligence. We should be honest enough to admit that she has literally wound us around her finger. "Divide and rule" has been her strategy. She has invariably succeeded in splitting American opposition to her schemes to a point bordering upon total impotence, whilst on the other hand she has consolidated American support of her nefarious plans to an extent sufficient to insure the success of her [illegible]

England [illegible] may let us give him, we are not prepared at the moment to prognosticate. But what with the aid of a president of sycophantic predilections where royalty is concerned, to say nothing of his Tory ancestry and leanings; what with a rubber-stamp Congress ready always to function as a sounding-board for executive bombast and despotic dictation; and what with a supine and seemingly somnolent electorate,—John Bull bids fair to outdo himself on this occasion as a proverbial absorber of some other nation's substance. As a supreme and final honor, we should crave from him the privilege of paying him interest, in perpetuity on the billions we are now pouring into his lap without money and without price.

We do feel entitled, however, to lay claim in the premises to the possession of a modicum of editorial prescience. For when the King and Queen of England were doing our great president the honor of eating "hot dogs" with him at Hyde [illegible] [illegible] we [illegible] ed contemporaneously that America would be required later to pay for divine absolution both for herself and her less courageous mate, the nation is slated for "the damnition bow-wows."

"I'm afraid," says the [illegible] Congressman. "What can be done about it," timorously inquires the supine citizen. These very admissions connote the fear and the hesitancy and the inertness that seem to be characteristic of the age. What more ideal set-up for his designs could any would-be dictator ask than this? Timidity and trepidation in the hearts of a citizenry inspire boldness and audacity in the aspirant for self and personal power. As resistance to his aggressions diminishes, in that proportion does his audacity increase, until by subtle or by sudden gradations the freeman awakes to learn to his consternation that he has overnight become nothing and the dictator has become everything in the worldly scheme of things.

The British Empire has attained to eminence in international affairs as much perhaps by weakening other nations as by increasing her own strength. The billions we are now giving her without return tend so to weaken our own financial structure as to make it easy for her to outstrip us in the mercantile field after the war is over. The material we are transferring to her helps to offset the disparity which has rapidly been developing in recent months between American and British military strength. The vessels we have so stupidly presented her with tend to pare down American naval superiority. The censorship she exercises over our mail addressed to South American and European destinations gives her a knowledge of American trade secrets and foreign business contacts which will give her the advantage over us in the war for commercial supremacy of which the martial activity [illegible] international stage is but the precursor.

## "As Others See Us"

*(Excerpts from unsolicited letters to the editor)*

[Reprinted from a previous issue]

"I have thoroughly enjoyed, even gloried in the grit of any man or organization of men who write and talk as I have read in some of your editorials on this war situation and Charles A. Lindbergh. I am one hundred per cent with you in all these views. With all best wishes in your true Americanism."—O. S. E., Hollywood, California.

* * *

"The August 29 Leader came today. I have read only the front page, 'Work of Anti-War Lobby' and the editorial. I am enclosing a dollar bill in the hope that you can mail a copy of this issue to the 20 persons whose names are listed on separate sheet enclosed. I wish I were young and had some means, and I certainly would sign up as one of the Nordskog followers to storm any place advisable."—L. M., Los Angeles, California.

would be enough consideration for his constituents' weal to select as the beneficiary of our largesse a nation that is dependable, honorable, and not given to betraying the confidence of a friend and comrade-in-arms. By his own admission, on the contrary, he has proved that he regards so lightly the responsibility imposed upon him as to be willing to give away the electors' billions to a nation that may turn out to be a double-dealing ingrate.

For what says the record? What of Oran and Dakar? What of Syria and Iran? O, Albion! Perfidious Albion! How strewn with the bleached bones of quondam coadjutors and allies is thy pathway to glory!

Said Colonel Charles A. Lindbergh in his Oklahoma speech:

"It is not at all inconceivable that before this war is over England may herself turn against us, as she has just turned against France and Finland. Reasons are always found to justify whatever action a nation takes in war. It was no more improbable in 1939 that England would turn against Finland and France than it is today that she will turn against us if it becomes expedient to her welfare in the future.

"If you question my words now, I ask only that you read a history of the relationships between the United States and England during the last hundred and fifty years and that you combine with this a rereading of the pledges of everlasting loyalty that took place between England and France less than two years ago. If you do this I believe you will agree with me that we must depend upon ourselves and ourselves only for our security in the future."

Sometime Great Britain's record of duplicity will "catch up with her." She "pulled the wool over the eyes" of America during the total impotence, [illegible] her hand she has consolidated American support of her nefarious plans to an extent sufficient to insure the success of her every artifice.

England does not have to earn the financial sinews wherewith to underwrite her military campaigns to establish a world-hegemony for herself. All she has to do when the funds begin to run low is to milk America for a few billion pounds—we dare not say dollars, for "the silly old dollar-sign" has been abolished—and the war goes merrily on again.

And when the smoke of battle clears away, does she effusively thank her benefactor for his unflagging support of her supremely selfish schemes? No, indeed! For by so much pampering she might run the risk of "spoiling" him. She merely informs stupid old Uncle Sam that his name is Shylock, that, in the words of Prime Minister Churchill, he should have "stayed at home and minded his own business," instead of stirring up strife and consternation and Communism in Europe. For she has learned by experience that Americans seem to respond more readily to cajolery and deceit than they do to fair-dealing and gratitude in other nations.

And her technique appears to improve as the years roll by. For whereas there were those among us who went so far as to whisper that John Bull was a "dead-beat" and a "welsher" for not having repaid or attempted to repay the billions we loaned him in order to help him starve the Germans, he has taken precious good care in the present instance to see that no such charge can be lodged against him hereafter. For instead of borrowing our billions, he is now actually doing us the honor of letting us give him our billions. How many billions he [illegible] *rial prescience. For when the King* and Queen of England were doing our great president the honor of eating "hot-dogs" with him at Hyde Park, many moons ago, we estimated consentaneously that America would be required later to pay for those canine concoctions to the tune of about one billion dollars each. Howbeit we must confess that our claim to the title of prophet as predicated on our prediction of that time is slightly dimmed by the fact that we failed to take into consideration the cost of the mustard! We therefore crave the indulgence of our readers as we revise our figures to read two billion, or perhaps, eventually, three billion per "hot-dog."

Be that as it may, and all joking aside, Congressman Schuetz of Chicago may well be alarmed at the prospect of a "double-cross" on the part of that paragon of unselfishness and altruistic intent, the aforesaid John Bull. As a matter of fact, we are beginning to feel well enough acquainted with this delectable personage to be justified in rechristening him with the appellative "John, Bully"!

Meanwhile we deem it a privilege to extend to We, the Mothers, Mobilize for America our heartiest congratulations. They are beginning to realize what a lot of empty barrels our voters have elected to high positions in the body politic. For our part, the more we see of that sort of men the higher rises, by contrast, our admiration for American womanhood. As Adam, in the allegory of old, sought to shift the responsibility for his derelictions upon the shoulders of Eve, so today millions of American Adams seek to shift their responsibilities to God and country to the shoulders of our modern Eves; and it is beginning to appear that if Eve does not obtain a knowledge of American trade secrets which will give her the advantage over us in the war for commercial supremacy of which the martial activity now occupying the international stage is but the precursor.

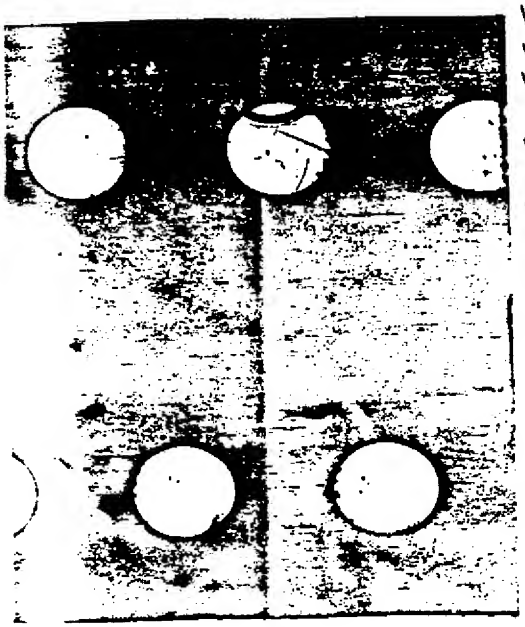
Great Britian, with her perfect system of propaganda, has so filled the hearts of Americans with fear of Hitler, of whom we have practically no reason to entertain any fear whatever, that we have failed completely to note the stealthy approach of John Bull, shrouded in a mantle of altruistic attestation, into the temple of our liberty, into the national treasury, and into the minds of a propagandized, indoctrinated citizenry.

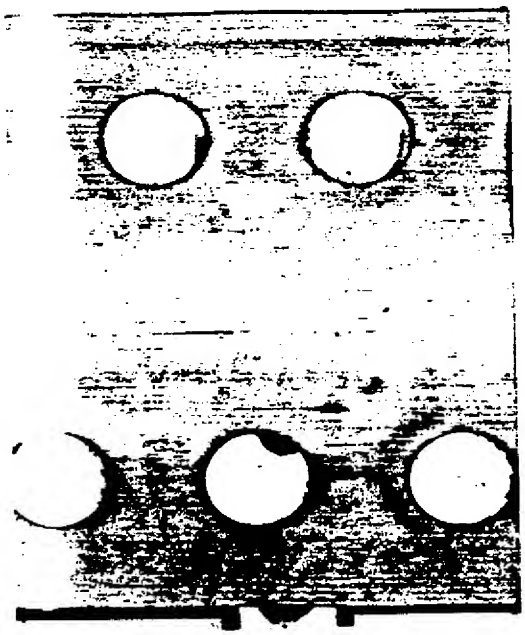
But this deceit will in time be uncovered, this mesmerism will be broken. The people are not ready as yet for a complete revelation; but the day is not far distant when John Bull will be disrobed, his role as trickster and betrayer of friendships will be exposed, and he will pay a harsh penalty for his misdeeds.

"That's what I'm afraid of!" But—mark our words!—the Congressman who thus expressed himself to a group of courageous women regarding his apprehension of a prospective betrayal of America by Britain, has not as much reason to fear by a thousandth part the possibilities of the situation thus predicated as he will have to fear the wrath of the American electorate when they awake to realize the modus operandi by which that betrayal was connived at and abetted by our own national legislators!

"Britannia rules the waves," we freely admit. But God still reigns in the realm of human thought, wherein the British Empire, mighty as it may be, is but as "a drop of a bucket"!

# HIS HOUR OF GLORY - - FOR WHAT?








**Mr. Congressman:**

**You can prevent this senseless slaughter. The President cann declare war. YOU ALONE, have that power. YOU ALONE, are answerab**

*Sent in cooperation with*

**We, the Mothers, Mobilize for America**

**37 W. Van Buren St., Chicago, Ill.**

**Harrison 1063**

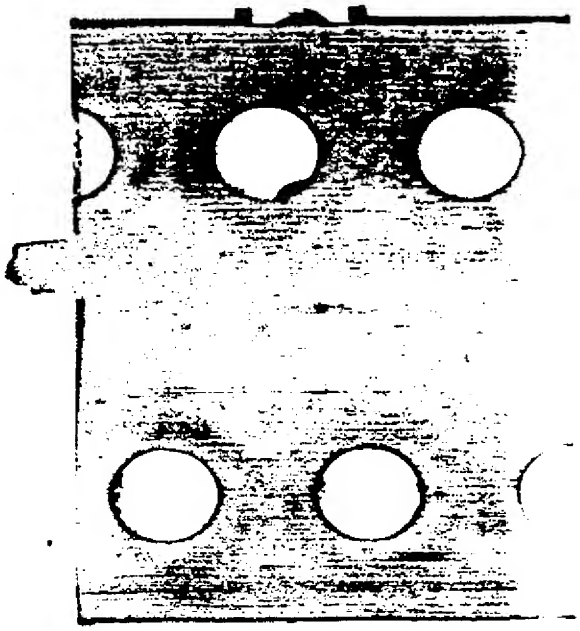
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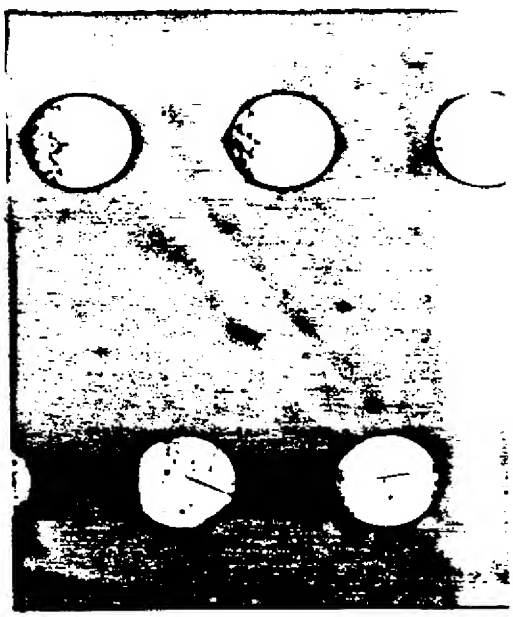
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*Will You give Your Life?*

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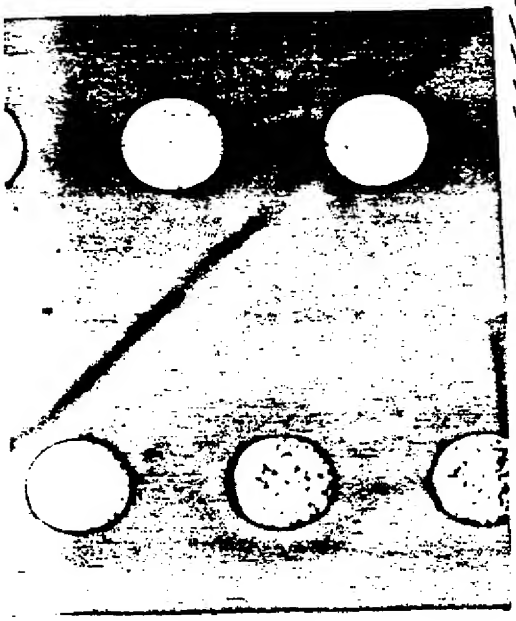


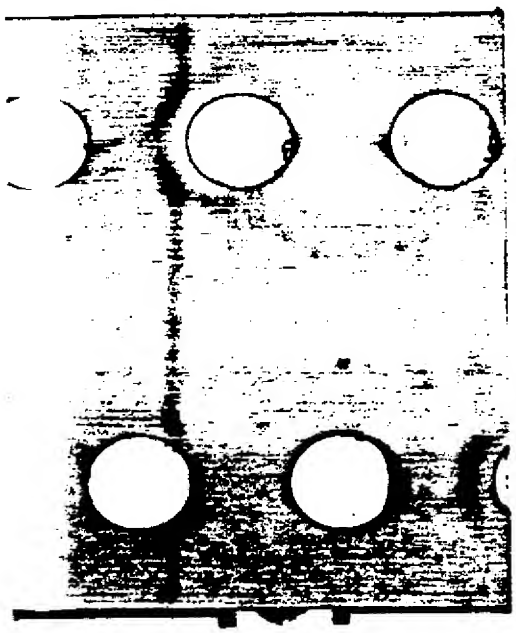


Congressman .....
Republic of the United States of America,
Washington, D. C.

3c STAMP

# HIS HOUR OF GLORY - - FOR WHAT?








**Mr. Congressman:** 5-197

**You can prevent this senseless slaughter. The President cann**
**declare war. YOU ALONE, have that power. YOU ALONE, are answerabl**

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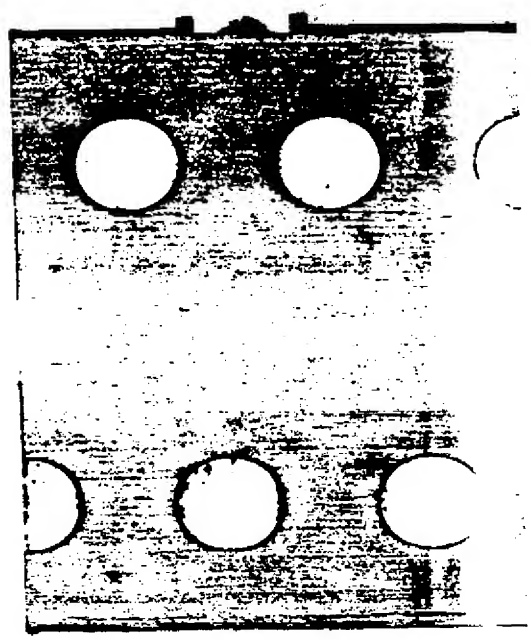
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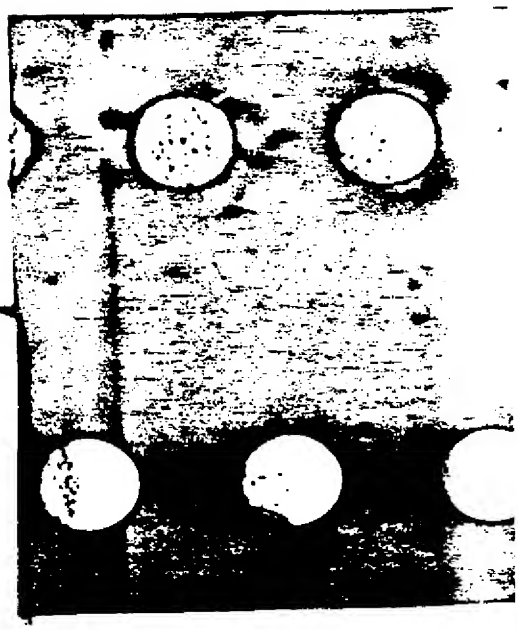
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*Will You give Your Life?*

HERE



*A Question that must be answered by you, Mr. Congressman.*



Congressman .....
Republic of the United States of America,
Washington, D. C.

3c STAMP

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

Southern California Division

Speaker's Bureau

SUBJECT: Air Force

TITLE: Is America Flying Blind?

BY: Major Alexander P. de Seversky

(Coronet; June, 1941)

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The widespread popular delusion that the world was caught unawares by the terrific effectiveness of Nazi Germany's air force provides a comforting alibi for humiliating defeats. Only it happens to be wholly untrue. The fact is, Hitler has not thrown into action a single aircraft model or unfolded a single principle of aviation warfare which had been thoroughly familiar to aero-nautical experts of all other nations long before the outbreak of the war.

I had myself inspected Nazi aviation but a few months before Poland was attacked. The Germans showed me their Stuka dive bombers, their swiftest pursuits and their horizontal bombers. The Nazis imposed no restrictions on us in conveying our observations to the outside world. They had no need to do so - all German types had been on display repeatedly at international aeronautical shows and had been fully described in the aviation press of all countries. Moreover, the progress of the Nazi Luftwaffe had been continuously reported to other governments by their military observers in Germany.

Why, then, were other nations so dismally unprepared to meet the German onslaught from the air? Certainly not because they lacked aviation brains equal to the challenge. The great strides made by the British aeronautical industry under stress of war, and that impressive progress being registered at long last by some American aircraft builders, prove that there was no dearth of designing talent.

The answer to the mystery must be sought in the mentality of nations. By this time it is clear that they were, each in its own fashion, afflicted by a species of psychological paralysis.

France had been hypnotized by a fatalistic reliance on its Maginot Line and its faith in "the world's finest army". Even in that long interval after German aviation had demonstrated its power in the devastation of Poland, France continued to ignore the obvious.

England, similarly, had been leaning back complacently on faith in its glorious and impregnable navy. Hypnotized by tradition, she found it literally impossible even to imagine a crucial battle in which the navy would be little more than a helpless onlooker - the kind of all-air battle, that is to say, which has actually been under way now for almost eight months.

And it is likewise in psychological factors that we discover the real explanation for the dismal backwardness of military aviation in America. The fact alone that our commercial aeronautics is the world's best indicates that the military ~~xxx~~ lag cannot be blamed on lack of aviation talent. The simple truth is that America has been lulled into a complacent sense of safety by its two oceans. That has been - and unfortunately remains today - the American equivalent of the "Maginot mentality" in France. Unless overcome quickly, it holds the threat of the same kind of disaster.

There can be no reason in logic why, if we build warplanes at all, they should have been below the standards of performance technically possible at the time of their design and construction. The absence of immediate danger of war or foreign invasion might justify the maintenence of a skeleton air power rather than a full-sized one. But it decidedly did not justify the inferiority in the quality of aircraft. Even if we had only one airplane, it should have been at least the equal of any extent.

But while the public may have been startled by recent disclosures about the shortcomings of American aircraft under conditions of actual warfare, aviation people were not. They had known all along, for instance, that American pursuits had neither the armor nor the armament to match the British Hurricanes and Spitfires or the German Messerschmitts and Heinkels. They had known, to cite an even more striking example, that our so-called "Flying Fortresses" lacked the very essential of a fortress, which is adequate defensive ability.

The American people have a real cause for complaint. They had for years been lulled into thinking that our military aviation was not only on a par with others, but even better. In the face of reports by American observers about the obvious superiority of European air forces, a national magazine of millionfold circulation, for instance, continued to boast, parrot-like, that, "Our Own War Birds Are Best".

It is about time we stopped bragging about our aeronautical superiority. Every champion who underestimates his challenger loses his crown. The more sensible course is to overestimate our potential opponents and to be ready to meet strength with greater strength. If we persist in continuing to live in a fool's paradise of self-congratulation, there is nothing ahead of us but humiliation at the hands of our enemies.

Hard-pressed Great Britain welcomed anything she could get. Desperate men trying to reach shore in a leaky boat

are grateful for broomsticks and handkerchiefs, though they need oars and sails. The British are carrying on gamely without complaint and without quarreling over spilt milk. Until the night fighter, now in an experimental stage, becomes fully effective, the American 'Flying Fortresses' may prove useful in night-time bombing, when the shroud of darkness makes up for inadequate defensive equipment. Our pursuits have given a good account of themselves apparently in the Mediterranean area, as long as they were pitted against inferior Italian aviation. But the fact remains, all the same, that these planes were far below the standards of performance established by other nations.

Our failure, in short, was not technical but psychological. It can be traced to a basic refusal in high quarters to acknowledge the crucial role of aviation in modern warfare. That, in turn, has kept American military aviation tied into an organizational set-up that prevents its natural development. It is as though a fine-mettled race horse were yoked together with a pair of oxen and expected to compete against horses without such encumbrance.

The fact is that aviation designers have, for years, made specific and detailed proposals to our military authorities for increasing the fire-power, the armor and other elements in our fighting planes since demonstrated as indispensable. Such proposals were pigeon-holed almost automatically, because they failed to touch the imagination of men conditioned to thinking only in terms of surface fighting. My own files, for instance, hold a series of such proposals, which were not only arbitrarily rejected but ridiculed by a high military authority.

Our military aircraft have also been seriously handicapped by what we might call our 'luxury complex'. Because air defense seemed, to the naval and infantry people in control of it, an indulgence rather than a critical necessity, we have built into our fighting planes many comforts and super-safety provisions at the expense of combat efficiency. For instance, after an unfortunate freak accident, where a pilot was killed when his airplane turned over in landing, all our tactical airplanes were built with huge towers, like reinforced greenhouses, directly behind the pilot's head -- at a cost of additional weight and reduction in speed. Our gallant military pilots, whose safety was directly concerned by this change, objected to these encumbrances. After all, under fighting conditions, the pilot's ultimate safety depends on the performance of his machine, rather than the luxury of its construction and excessive margins of safety. Their judgment has been completely vindicated by the fact that a mere twenty-five-mile speed edge of the British pursuits over the German Messerschmitts held off the numerical superiority of the Nazi air power.

The whole subject would not be worth discussing if it

were merely a matter of history. But it isn't. The same brakes which have retarded the development of our air power are still in xxxx place. Airplanes are still treated as extensions of existing weapons rather than new weapons requiring new forms of organization, administration and tactics.

Psychologically, the American people, and even more so, our highest military leaders, are still leaning back on our own "Maginot Lines", the two oceans and their respective fleets. In the designing of tomorrow's aviation we are still only "catching up" — a fatal procedure when the need is to outdistance, out-plan and out-think the potential adversary. Despite the clear lessons of the tragic experience in Europe, we are still obsessed by problems of mass production, while the more crucial questions of range, greater fire power, defensive armor and maneuverability are treated lightly if at all.

The most serious fault of all, though, is that the fundamental defense scheme for our nation is predicated on the assumption that the science of war remains the same as it was in the Argonne-Meuse battle of 1918. We have as yet failed to grasp the role of air power in the near future. The same assumption cost France its life and has endangered the British Isles. The shorter distances involved naturally made them vulnerable to air power sooner — but that is the only difference between their position and ours. And even that protection of distance is being narrowed with every passing month. National security plans which do not recognize this fact are doomed to disaster.

If our country is obliged to go to war — actively — the offensive will be possible only through the air. Our fleets will be unable to attack enemy shorelines or to land xxxxxxxxxxxxxxx troops while the skies are under enemy control. If we come to actual grips with a foe it will be first of all in the air. That phase must be determined before our naval and land strength can be brought into effective play.

One high ranking Air Corps General, in a speech on February twenty-eighth, stated that the United States "should have no fear of being outstripped in the race for air power", and added that the nation's resources "insure our ultimate command of the air". Unfortunately, natural resources by themselves can insure nothing. Despite their abundance, our country has been devoid of genuine air power to date, because of the lack of proper leadership. Our military aircraft will not take their place way out front in the race for world superiority until aviation thinking and planning has been unshackled to enable us properly to exploit our natural resources.

That, I submit, will not happen until air power is dependent and administered by aviation experts of proven experience, knowledge and vision.

Miss Ingalls

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

So. Calif. Divisions

Speaker's Bureau

SUBJECT: Sea power versus air power

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Before Crete there was still room for argument over the relative merits of sea power and air power. ...Plain fact is that for the first time in history, a major military victory has been gained ENTIRELY by an air force DESPITE the presence of a strong and unopposed fleet of warships. Indeed, while the British Navy prevented all but a few Nazis from landing on Crete from boats, it did so only by paying a heavy toll of cruisers and destroyers to the Nazi air arm.

We know now that sea power without air power is no defense at all. The Battle of Crete means that the British Navy is a far less important defense weapon than we had previously thought. Unless England can achieve AIR superiority, the Navy cannot turn the tide of the war, and this remains true even if the United States were to lease her another 50 destroyers or more. For it is plain that while in the last century the fact that Britannia ruled the waves meant that she possessed the greatest offensive weapon of war, mid-twentieth century tactics have shown that the offensive power of a fleet disappears as it nears the shores of an enemy-held country. For enemy land, means enemy air bases from which $400,000 long range bombers can scour the seas; search out and destroy great battleships which cost $100,000,000 each and require a much longer time to build.

> What all this means to the United States is that the idea that convoys would materially aid in winning the war for Great Britain is shown to be false, unless as those convoys near the land mass of Europe, they are protected by interceptor PLANES. Otherwise, long range bombers or submarines will continue to sink them. (Another factor contributing to the difficulty of the convoy system is that AIR bombings have reduced to ruin all English ports except Liverpool and Glasgow. It is now reported that the turn-about time is three weeks -- i.e. the time necessary for a ship to dock, unload, and depart. Obviously, more ships is no answer to this problem.) People who have been asking for convoys should now ask instead that planes be sent UNLESS they only want convoys so that shooting will begin. It is still true that convoys would get us into the war.

In the second place, the fact that even a powerful Navy, if not sufficiently protected by air power, cannot successfully approach the enemy shore, gives a cold, FACTUAL answer to those who have been yelping for another A. E. F. to Europe. The question is -- where would they land? AND no

interventionist can dispute production figures and export figures. They may wish the situation was different. So does the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE, though for a different reason. The FACT is that plane production in the United States is distressingly small, especially production of long range bombers. Furthermore, in a recent column, Boake Carter pointed out that we are sending abroad up to 70% of the weapons we would need in any such invasion. An invasion accompanied by our present air force would only mean that we wanted to undergo a Dunkerque in reverse i.e. not have to retreat from a land position but find ourselves unable to even gain a landhold.

In the third place it demonstrates the truth of what the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE has said, that the United States and the Western Hemisphere CAN be defended IF we will build a real air force and if that air force has bases close to the shore lines, that our safety does not depend upon the British Empire or upon ~~Hanrix~~ the Empire's Navy, that the defense of America depends upon American factories and upon American workmen, and upon American pilots. Rather than a mass army of 5,000,000 men, we need a small army of men and a big army of mechanized equipment. (There is an excellent article on this subject in the June, 1941 Reader's Digest written by Representative Ross A. Collins, chairman of the House Subcommittee in charge of military appropriation.)

This will take time to build and it will take time to train men in the use of this equipment. We believe America is equal to this task. But American soldiers can never be trained in the use of this equipment if we continue to give away up to 70% of our production. A sane appraisal of our own defense needs would seem to indicate that we can spare precious little in the way of airplanes and mechanized equipment. (The N. Y. Times recently pointed out editorially that "before 1938 our own War Department was spending more on horses, mules, harness and wagons than on tanks and armed vehicles.")

(Washington News Letter, America First Committee; No. 16; June 4, 1941)

Gen 5-207

SPEAKERS' BULLETIN

July 15, 1941

## A QUOTATION FROM PRESIDENT FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

On September 21, 1939, to the Special Session of Congress that enacted the Neutrality Law of 1939, President Roosevelt said:

> "With the repeal of the embargo this Government clearly and definitely will insist that American citizens and American ships keep away from the immediate perils of the actual zones of conflict."

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## "WHAT IS BEST FOR AMERICA?"

The following are some excerpts from a recent address by Mrs. Robert A. Taft.

> "We have no right to let emotions guide our course ... The question, What is best for America, is the only question which should influence our decisions.
>
> "The interventionists have but two arguments which are directed to this question. The first is that we cannot defend our freedom here unless we fight abroad ... certainly if it were true that we were too weak to defend ourselves here, we should be still less able to fight over there, for it would take at least twice as great a force for attack at such a vast distance as for effective defense.
>
> "The second argument of the interventionists is that we should go to war for trade. They overlook the fact that even from a material viewpoint such a course would be utterly foolish, since one year of war would cost us more than the loss of all our foreign trade for 20 years. Such a proposal is not only foolish but it is immoral, for it sets material values above human values, markets above young men's lives.
>
> "No, the arguments of the interventionists are breaking down, so now they raise the cry that it is too late for us to oppose the entrance of the United States into the war - that we are committed.

"How can this be? We have been assured by our leaders that each step we have taken has been a step toward peace. Without that assurance the American people could not have been persuaded to take the steps. But surely, a man can walk to the edge of a precipice, look at the view, and refuse to jump off!"

TRAINING CAMPS OPPOSE WAR

Mounting reports are being received indicating that an enormous number of military men are of the "Defend America - but no foreign war" sentiment.

Here is a report on army sentiment from Representative John M. Vorys of Ohio.

Representative Vorys served in the United States Overseas Naval Airforce during the last war.

"The boys in the training camps, including the officers are for keeping out of the wars in Europe, Asia and Africa. I know from personal observation and from those who have been touring the camps. I Have a letter from a Colonel in the regular army who substantiates the contention that regular army officers are strongly opposed to getting into foreign wars, while, of course, everybody is for defending America. Boys in training camps have told me "Keep us out of this" and many officers have thanked me for my efforts in restoring peace.

It may be significant that the Second Corps Area, which comprises NewYork City and environs, and which is the center of agitation for rushing us into total war, is the only Area running below its quota for pilots. In the New York section they are very strong for somebody else going over and doing the fighting."

"THE QUESTION NOW IS -- ARE WE GOING TO FIGHT TO MAKE EUROPE SAFE FOR COMMUNISM?"

JOHN T. FLYNN
(noted newspaper columnist and economist)

"This is where we came in. This was started with Germany moving to the East, her objective being the Ukraine and the Rumanian oil fields. Then England and France said, 'No, you can't do that. Come and fight us

"The result was the destruction of the Low Countries and France and the near-destruction of England, Russia alone being saved.

"Now Germany is resuming where she left off when Britain interrupted. If Germany wins, Russia will go Fascist. If Russia defeats Germany, Germany will go Communist. There is no choice for us at all. THE QUESTION NOW IS? ARE WE GOING TO FIGHT TO MAKE EUROPE SAFE FOR COMMUNISM?"

(The above statement is taken from the New York Times of June 23)

NORMAN THOMAS

says

"WATCH HOW FAST AMERICAN COMMUNISTS BECOME PROPAGANDISTS FOR ENTRY INTO WAR!!!"

"For Stalin we have no sympathy. In every way his cruelty and duplicity have equaled Hitler's own. It was his agreement with Hitler which unleashed the military force of which he is now a prospective victim. The lion has now turned on the jackal and marches Finnish troops against the dictator who assayed the conquest of Finland.

"We shall watch with interest to see how fast American Communists and the organizations which they control or influence will become propagandists for American entry into the war on the side of those "great democracies", Stalin's dictatorship and the British Empire.

"We, whose concern has been to keep America out of war in order to make our own democracy work and whose interest is in peace and not in Stalin, see in the tangled course of events new reason for maintaining the fight to keep America out of War."

(Statement from the New York Times, June 23, 1941)

ANSWER THE "SOUTH AMERICAN INVASION" ARGUMENT

A favorite argument of the interventionists has been "seize bases in Africa to prevent an invasion of South America."

General Wood, John T. Flynn, Colonel Lindbergh and others have exposed this as a preposterous military adventure designed to drag us into the European war.

NOW -- HANSON BALDWIN, RECOGNIZED AS ONE OF THE FOREMOST

MILITARY AUTHORITIES IN AMERICA, DENOUNCES THIS PROPOSED SEIZURE AS -- "STRATEGICAL ABSURDITY" !!!!

Mr. Baldwin, who is military and naval expert for the New York Times, Points out how foolhardy any attempt would be to arm and maintain bases off the European Coast and in Africa.

He denounces and disproves the "invasion" theory.

He outlines the simple procedure the United States must follow to develop an impregnable defense.

STRATEGICAL ABSURDITY

The following is a condensation of an article on "The Realities of Hemisphere Defense" written by Hanson Baldwin, Military and Naval expert for the New York Times. It appeared in the Reader's Digest for July, 1941.

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"Africa has recently become to our alarmists the base from which swarms of planes and fleets of ships will maneuver against South America. We cannot defend the Americas unless we seize a base in West Africa, it is argued .... So runs the argument and if it is valid, we must change our whole Hemisphere Defense policy -- not temporarily, but permanently....

"Let us look at the matter more closely. There is, first of all, the problem of the Narrowed World. In terms of time the world is smaller. But what is often overlooked is that this helps the defense as well....In the balance of offense and defense, it is just as far as ever from Dakar to Brazil". Moreover, we are rapidly getting new bases (Trinidad and British Guiana) roughly as close to the shoulder of Brazil as Dakar. "There is altogether too much disposition in this country to lose sight of the influence of geography upon war, to regard 1600 miles of ocean as a mere bagatelle in the seven-league strides of Adolph Hitler." Over these 1600 miles he could not more block us from this area than he can block England from using the English Channel; and invasion over these 1600 miles would be vastly more difficult than invasion of England over 25 miles of English Channel.

"Furthermore, even though the Germans do occupy Dakar, they would still have to establish a huge base there with elaborate equipment. This would take a long time. Even supposing that they did reach Brazil eventually, supplying bases and armies there in that jungle would be a colossal job. "This is a military problem which makes the invasion of Britain seem child's play".....

"Reverse the picture, and it gives a fair idea of our own difficulties should we try to maintain a base in West Africa...

But clearly such bases are not vital to Hemisphere Defense; they would probably be more of a liability than an asset...The argument that we have to establish bases in another hemisphere to protect our own land quickly reaches a strategical absurdity...

"What is needed to make Hemisphere Defense a workable military policy?....If we take the right measures this hemisphere can be defended and we need fear no evil" from any hostile coalition of great powers. We need

1. Sea power -- the present program is ample.
2. Air power --long range bombers particularly
3. Land power -- a mobile, finely trained small arm of 500,000 to 700,000 men.
4. Bases -- we have or have planned all that we need except a large air and naval base on the shoulder of Brazil.

THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WILL ADVISE

Representative Hamilton Fish has announced that the final results of his poll in the President's own district showed 90.02% of the people against war.

Life Magazine discovered a midwestern town and attempted to pin " interventionist" on its name with great pomp. Later Neosha, Missouri, was polled and showed 70% against war.

Washington, D. C., the home of the war-makers, was polled and turned in 93.65% against war.

Indianapolis polled its citizens through leading newspapers and 95% proved to be opposed to foreign intervention.

Bulletin # 383
July 2, 1941

A M E R I C A  F I R S T  C O M M I T T E E

To All Chapters:

## A PEACE OFFENSIVE

The following is a portion of a speech delivered by Representative John M. Vorys (R. Ohio), on the floor of the House.

! WAGE PEACE AS BRAVELY AS WE WAGE WAR !

"Perhaps it would be wise for us to know this time that war would come again unless we waged peace as bravely and wisely as we waged war.

"Congress can aid in formulating such a policy, the people can urge it, but the President alone can launch it and carry it to a successful conclusion. It is the President who must make the decision that now confronts the Nation, for power has been gathered into his hands.

"If the decision is for war, the responsibility is the President's. Congress will not be held responsible, for the President asked for the powers granted in the lease-lend bill on the guaranty that it would keep us out of war. His Cabinet is pressing for war, but the President's Cabinet are his appointees under his control, and the President cannot transfer his responsibility to them. Nor will war blame rest upon the people, for they have never had a chance to vote on war.

"On the other hand, if the President's decision is for an all-out effort to bring the war to an end, the glory will be his, for he will make that decision under the heaviest pressure from his intimate advisers and from foreign governments that any Executive has ever endured."

(Congressman Vorys served in the naval overseas air force in the last war.)

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Richard A. Moore
Director of Organization

SUPPLY TO ALL SPEAKERS

(PLEASE POST)

Bulletin #373
June 30, 1941

A M E R I C A  F I R S T  C O M M I T T E E

TO ALL CHAPTERS:

## PUTTING THE WORLD WAR COST TO USE

War is a costly project.

The billions of valuable dollars tossed recklessly into the cauldron of useless wars brought on by ageless enmities could have been spent in a thousand beneficient ways.

The late Victor L. Berger, World War Congressman, once estimated the cost of that martial venture and pointed out the good that all that money could have done.

BERGER INDICATED -----

> "According to the best statistics obtainable the world war cost thirty million lives and $400,000,000,000 in property. With that amount we could have built a $2500 house and furnished this house with $1000 worth of furniture and placed it on five acres of land worth $100 an acre and given all this to every family in the United States, Canada, Australia, Great Britain, France, Belgium, Germany, and Russia. After doing this there would still be enough money left to give each city of 200,000 inhabitants and over in all the countries named a $5,000,000 library, a $5,000,000 hospital and a ten million dollar university. Out of the balance we could still have sufficient money to set aside a sum at 5 per cent interest which would pay for all time to come a $1000 salary for an army of 125,000 teachers and an army of 125,000 nurses. And, having done all this, we could still have enough left of our $400,000,000,000 to buy up all of France and Belgium and everything of value that France and Belgium possess."

(The above statement was used in an advertisement prepared by the Logan, Utah Chapter of the America First Committee.)

Richard A. Moore
Director of Organization

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(Not printed at Government expense)

# Congressional Record

United States of America

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 77th CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

## We Must Keep America Independent

RADIO ADDRESS

OF

HON. STEPHEN A. DAY

OF ILLINOIS

*June 15, 1941*

(Printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of June 16, 1941)

Mr. DAY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address which I delivered yesterday over the radio:

Before I was elected to the Congress of the United States, I promised the people that I would take the radio and issue a call for their support when I found that the Nation which we love so dearly was in danger. I am completely satisfied that a grave peril now confronts us. Unless we act immediately and a vigorous protest from all loyal citizens reaches Washington at once, our form of Government under the Constitution and our American independence will be overthrown not by a foreign invasion using military force but by a treasonable betrayal which is already in the making.

There is a powerful movement thoroughly financed throughout the British Empire and in all parts of the United States to surrender great, free America into a permanent confederation or union which will cancel the Declaration of Independence written by Thomas Jefferson in 1776 and completely undermine the Constitution of the United States. Hore Belisha, former Secretary for War in London, this week stated publicly that the plans have been worked out and it now awaits a word from Winston Churchill and President Roosevelt to complete the colossal surrender of all time. While we have been engaged in discussing the wars in Europe, Asia, and Africa, and whether the United States will be involved, the first secret steps have been undertaken.

Millions of good Americans were shocked when the Congress passed the land-lease bill [illegible]

What did it mean? What was to become of the Johnson Act forbidding loans to nations which have not paid their debts owing to us from the first World War? What was to become of the Neutrality Act, with its cash and carry provisions? Why did President Roosevelt turn over 50 of our destroyers to Britain without payment? Why did the President say that Britain was fighting our war and that our first line of defense was on the Rhine? Why was Stimson made Secretary of War? Why was Knox made Secretary of the Navy? Why did Ambassador Kennedy resign his post as our Ambassador to Great Britain? Why did Ambassador Bullitt who represented us in France tell the French that if they started the war we would finish it? Why have the American people been urged to aid Britain "short of war"? Why did President Roosevelt promise the American people that our boys would never be sent to fight and die in a foreign war?

All these questions can be answered when we understand that we are to become a part of the British Empire. All news now coming out of Washington is censored, and the people are not told the facts. The truth is known only to the President and those within the inner circle handling and operating the $7,000,000,000 of war materials which we are giving to Britain. When the plan for union with Britain is completed there will be no need for Britain to repay us, since the American people and all subjects of the British Empire in Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, India, Ireland, the British Isles, and Africa will be all citizens of one government, the rulers of which will be Winston Churchill and Franklin Delano Roosevelt. The Senate of the United States will be absorbed in the parliament of the new union. All Members of the American Congress will be deprived of their seats, and new delegates will sit in the parliament of the new union. You will no longer be a citizen of the United States. Your new allegiance will be to this new union, and you will be a fellow citizen of the hordes in India and the tribesmen of Africa. The [illegible]

Lord Halifax has been sent here to put this deal over. Anthony Eden has proclaimed it. Winston Churchill has said that the movement is flowing steadily onward, and like the great Mississippi River cannot be checked. When Wendell Willkie went to London he carried a note to Winston Churchill stating that the union would sail on. Ambassador Winant has just returned from Britain with a report that all is well.

How near is this new union? American armed vessels are now acting as patrols all over the high seas escorting merchant ships to Britain. The President, proclaiming the freedom of the seas, has issued an order for an unlimited national emergency. He is carrying on an undeclared war with Germany and will never come to the Congress for a declaration of war as provided in our Constitution. Secretary Stimson and Attorney General Jackson have publicly stated that all previous international law has been canceled. Secretary Stimson testified before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations that we are acting under the edicts of a conference of international lawyers held at Budapest, Hungary, in 1934; that President Roosevelt can make war anywhere in the world without any authorization from the Congress.

Plans are now under way to ask the Congress to recess and go home from the middle of July until after Labor Day. The Congress has already appropriated $43,000,000,000, while less than one-third of this sum is all that is needed for American defense. Experts in the Army and Navy have testified that we do not need an Army of over 800,000 for our own defense. On July 1 this Army will already consist of 1,800,000 men. The Congress is appropriating for this year $10,000,000,000 for the Army. Why such gigantic appropriations? All experts in the Army and Navy admit that there is no danger of an invasion of this country by Hitler. Facts and figures have been given to absolutely prove this. Former President Hoover has stated that we can be of more help to Britain if we stay out of the war. Everyone in Washington knows that we are unprepared to carry on successfully a foreign war at this time. Everyone in Wash

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ington knows that we cannot have a two-ocean Navy until 1946. Everyone in Washington knows that Japan will attack us if we make war on Germany. Japan is bound by treaty with Germany to come to Germany's aid. We cannot successfully fight a war in both the Atlantic and the Pacific at the same time. You are asking what does all this mean?

Those who advocate the union now with Britain do not mean a union after the war. They mean a union now. If this union be accomplished, then Britain's war is our war, and no matter how it comes out, we will be a part of the British Empire. The fears of the American people are to be played upon until we are forced to accept this union now. The press and radio are flooded with appeals to our sympathy. By day and night we are told the merits and bravery of the British people.

Lord Halifax and Senator PEPPER have toured the Nation calling upon us to espouse the cause of Britain. The will of the people is being broken down by every scheme and device to the point where we will accept an agreement which President Roosevelt will proclaim that he has made with Winston Churchill. The American Navy will be pooled with the British Navy; all private property will be seized by the President; strikes fomented by Communists will furnish the occasion for the use of military force with which to take over manufacturing plants; Mayor LaGuardia is forming the citizens into an army for home defense; Mrs. Roosevelt is about to draft American women into her army; all those who oppose these plans are called Copperheads, Hitlerites, and "fifth columnists." Charles Lindbergh and Senator WHEELER have been smeared. A magazine of wide circulation has carried an article that Americans of foreign stock will be interned and it is even suggested that the rank and file of such organizations as America First Committee and the Keep Us Out of War Committee will be carefully investigated with a view to internment.

In the name of God, whither are we heading? When I say, "We must keep America independent now," you know what I mean. This Nation is full of foreign agents. They are not all Communists. Many are British agents. We shall not tolerate undivided allegiance. We shall condemn all subversive doctrines whether they be Communist, Fascist, Nazi, or British. The minority in Congress which has made the fight for the American people need your help. In my campaign for election as Congressman at Large, I pledged the voters that I would never vote to send the son of an American father or mother to fight and die in any European or Asiatic war. I shall keep that pledge. I also pledged that I would never vote one cent for this purpose. I kept that pledge and voted against the lend-lease bill, against the amendments as they came from the Senate, and I voted against giving Britain the $7,000,000,000. President Roosevelt proclaims a national emergency, unlimited in scope. Since we are not at war, he has no more right to do this than I have. He is usurping the powers of the people. He has no more right to seize all private property than I have. He is acting as a dictator and will continue so to act unless he hears from the American people.

Let us get this straight. Can it be possible that the Congress will sit idly by and watch the President take us into an undeclared war in open defiance of the Constitution of the United States which clearly states that the Congress alone can declare war? Can it be possible that the American people will sit idly by and see their sons shackled into a Union Now with Britain without any authority from them, from the Congress, or from the Constitution? Some will say that it cannot happen here. To all these I make answer How can you explain the fact that just a few days ago the President submitted to the Congress for its approval an agreement to build the St. Lawrence seaway project as a defense measure when at the same time in his message to the Congress he admitted that it cannot be built within 4 years from now? How can you explain this action by the President when all in authority know that such agreement amounts to a treaty and should be submitted to the Senate of the United States, as was done several years ago? Why is it not a treaty today? What has happened to change the status of the project? Conceded to be a treaty heretofore, how has it become a mere agreement now? Can you not see that in the mind of the President the Constitution means nothing. If he can undermine the Constitution in this instance, who can say that he is not ready for Union Now with Britain?

Today we find the Congress of the United States in about the position that the French Council of the Five Hundred was in the early autumn of 1799, just before Bonaparte drove them out of their chamber with his dragoons. Measures are offered for the consideration of the Congress under rules which put a gag on debate. Amendments are offered to bills on the floor of Congress which the Members have not even read. If this condition continues our Republic will pass away and we shall have an endless emergency dictatorship, and only those measures will be submitted to the Congress which Hitler would submit to the Reichstag.

On this day, June 15, the interest is due from Britain for the debts owing to us from the last World War. No interest has been paid; instead, the debtor is seeking to absorb the creditor and thus wipe out the debt. Who could have foretold that anything so monstrous could happen in America? This is Father's Day. I appeal to the fathers of America to weigh well what I have said. I appeal to you to make known to the President and the Congress that you will not tolerate any further steps in betrayal of our American independence. We all agree that we must do our utmost to defend the United States. But that does not mean that we must accept a Union Now with Britain and that you and your sons for all time to come will be subjects of the British Empire. What have we done that this should come to us? God knows that it is hard enough to give up a son for military training in defense of our common country. It cannot be possible that He will inflict this curse that will deprive us of our American citizenship. I call upon the American people to awake to this danger and write or wire the President and the Members of Congress at once, tonight, that you will not permit the loss of our American independence. We applaud the loyalty of the subject of the British Empire for standing by Great Britain; we expect Frenchmen to be for France; we expect Italians to be for Italy; we expect Hitlerites to be for Hitler. But why, in the name of God, can we not expect Americans to be for America first, last, and always?

The tide is turning in Washington. The Congress is determined to drive the serpent of internationalism from the free soil of America. We have commenced to put the Communists in their place. We must not stop there. With your help, we will check the betrayal of America into a Union Now with Britain. We have a right to cherish our American independence. No man can take this birthright from us. Just as in 1776 the wrath of the American people must be made known and when the American people decide that this mongrel New Union shall not happen here then I am satisfied we shall remain free and independent. Let us hear from you. We need your help. May God bless you all.

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July 29, 1941 #2452

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AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

Southern California Division

Speaker's Bureau

BULLETIN NO. 5: (Compiled from Official Chicago Bulletins)

318519 SP3 BG/GL 10-19-90

## NOT ENOUGH SHIPS FOR A.E.F.

REAR ADMIRAL YEATES STIRLING, JR., UNITED PRESS NAVAL CRITIC, HAS BEEN DRUMMING FOR SENTIMENT TO SUPPORT ENTRANCE OF THE UNITED STATES INTO WORLD WAR II.

HOWEVER, YESTERDAY ADMIRAL STIRLING CONCEDED THAT THERE ARE NOT ENOUGH SHIPS AVAILABLE FOR A SECOND AMERICAN EXPEDITIONARY FORCE.

The following is the complete text of Admiral Stirling's United Press column. (From the Chicago Times, Wednesday, July 16, 1941.)

"In view of the controversy over whether there will be another American Expeditionary Force before the end of the war, it seems appropriate to review the herculean task accomplished by our navy in ferrying 1,000,000 men to France during the last war.

"When the United States entered the war in 1917, it owned but few ships fit for transport service. Fortunately, there were a dozen or more large interned German merchant ships in our ports. These ships had been seriously sabotaged by their crews, but through the process of electric welding were repaired and by October, 1917, most of them were ready to carry troops.

"Great Britain had a number of ships that were available as transports, and nearly 1,000,000 of our men were transported across the Atlantic in British convoys from Canada, escorted by British warships.

### LACK TRANSPORTS

"IF THERE SHOULD BE A SECOND A.E.F., THERE WOULD BE THE DIFFICULTY OF PROVIDING ENOUGH FAST AMERICAN TRANSPORTS FOR THE TASK AND SUFFICIENT DESTROYERS TO GUARD THEM.

"In large measure we would have to depend upon England's shipping and foreign vessels interned in the United States.

"All transport should be of 20-know speed or better. The higher the speed of the ship the greater the immunity from submarine attacks. A torpedo as a rule leaves behind it a white wake from its exhaust air bubbles. This, if seen in time, enables a ship to use helm and engines to cause a torpedo to pass ahead or astern.

TORPEDO PROBLEM

"It has been claimed that the Germans have found a means of absorbing the air bubbles, which causes torpedoes to leave no wake. This would make a transport's task of avoiding torpedoes more difficult. There would be no warning when the torpedoe was fired, and if the aim were good a hit would be the first intimation of the presence of a submarine.

"Both British and American anti-submarine vessels are provided with listening devices. The effectiveness of those devices is questionable, because of the noise within the listening vessel from engines and pumps. There is a device using a ray which is said to be more effective.

"Convoys would have to be guarded by an escort large enough to defeat any possible raiders sent against it, and be surrounded by destroyers, not only to attack the submarines after they have been discovered but also to rescue the troops and crews of torpedoed transports.

6-DAY MINIMUM

"The route taken would depend upon the destination in Europe. By all routes the distance is close to 3,000 miles. A 20-know convoy could make the voyage in little over six days. During World War I., troop convoys required as much as 14 days.

"From my experience in the last war the troops dreaded the trip across the ocean far more than they did the battlefields. It was to them something mysterious against which they could do nothing. There would be the same dread today, and the troops would have to be given every reason for believing they were safe. It is important for troops to know that if a transport is torpedoed, sufficient rescue ships will be on hand to take off the men. It is the duty of the navy to man the transports, providing sufficient escort to give reasonable security. While the convoys are at sea, the fight against the submarine and the airplane must be carried on by separate forces of anti-submarine vessels and airplanes. The routes taken by convoys must be assiduously patrolled.

"By this means attacking submarines and bombing planes would be so constantly occupied in warding off attacks they would have little opportunity or inclination to risk attacks on convoys."

ADMIRAL STIRLING HAS POINTED OUT THE QUANTITY AND TYPES OF SHIPS NEEDED FOR TRANSPORT DUTY. PLEASE RECALL HIS PREVIOUS STATEMENT IN THIS ARTICLE OF THE DEFICIENCY IN THOSE SHIPS.

"V"(ictory)

AMERICA FIRST CHAPTERS FROM BOSTON, MASS. - TO SAN DIEGO, CALIF.

! ! ! YOH ARE WINNING THIS FIGHT ! ! !

1....YOU WON NO CONVOYS - Today there are no convoys!!! This has been avowed in sworn testimony before the Senate Naval Affairs Committee.

2....YOU WON THE POSTPONEMENT OF THE SPEECH ORIGINALLY HERALDED AS "THE WAR SPEECH" - Early in May the President contemplated a fireside chat. The war-party circulated the report that this speech would be tantamount to a declaration of war. The country had been "primed". BUT - America First Chapters poured mail into the President and Congress. America First Chapters by their efforts showed that 80% of the nation opposed war. THE PRESIDENT POSTPONED THAT SPEECH. He delayed two weeks and rewrote that speech because it was at last evident that America had not been "conditioned" for war. Because he realizes that the overwhelming majority of the people are against war the President has never made that "war" speech. Each message has touched vaguely on "danger" and "pirates".

3....YOU WON THE FIRST "NO A.E.F." FIGHT The administration withdrew the clause in the original bill which asked for the "removal of boundary restrictions". (However, there will still be attempts to push legislation which will license an A.E.F. We must continue to press the campaign against bills and proposals which may ultimately mean "expeditionary force".)

4....YOU ARE GAINING CONGRESSIONAL STRENGTH - A meeting of the non-interventionist leaders in Congress was held on July 22, 1941, Present at this meeting to discuss policy and means of carrying out the non-interventionist program were 20 members of Congress who had never before attended the non-interventionist caucus.

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REPORT ON REPORTING

On April 24 Charles A. Lindbergh addressed a non-interventionist rally in New York. The New York Times reported that Father Coughlin's Social Justice was sold outside this meeting, that "German accents were numerous", and that the audience cheered remarks unsympathetic to Britain.

On July 17, the Committee to Defend America and Fight for Freedom Inc. held a pro-war rally in the same hall presided over by Wendell L. Willkie. Outside the meeting communists distributed copies of the Daily Worker, the New Masses and the latest statement of the Communist Party. Inside the hall communists revealed their presence by applauding references to the Soviet Union. Most of the speakers

emphasized their hope that the peoples of the dictator countries would be freed, and mentioned specifically Germany, Italy and the conquered territories. But they failed to mention Stalin's people. None of these aspects of the meeting were reported by the New York Times. (from UNCENSORED, July 19, 1941)

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## FRANK AT LAST

COLONEL KNOX
Testifies to the Senate Naval Affairs Committee when seeking confirmation of his appointment as Secretary of the Navy.

Question: You would not favor sending our boys to Eurppe under any circumstances in the present crisis?

Col. Knox: That is right.
... we ought to aid them in a moral and economic way, never in manpower...
... I mean everything short of sending military assistance, either army or navy assistance.

COLONEL KNOX
Speaks in Boston one year later.

... Now is the time to put in motion the machine we have been building...we must, if need be, match with American tears, American toil, American sweat, and American blood, the toil, the tears, the sweat, and the blood which Britain has...spent... The time to clear the Atlantic of the German menace is at hand...

************

"NATIONAL DEFENSE AT ANY EXPENSE
BUT KEEP OUR BOYS AT HOME"

**************

## THE SMEAR BRIGADE

There has been a violent attack upon the patriotism of Senator Burton K. Wheeler by Secretary of War, Henry L. Stimson.

The war secretary's attack was based on postcards sent out over the Senator's franking privilege urging the recipients to write the President to express opposition to entry into the European war. Two of these cards were received by members of the U.S. Army, Staff Sergeant William L. White, Company C., 8th Infantry, Fort Benning, and Lieutenant Alfred P. Herne, Post Adjutant, Fort McIntosh, Laredo,

Texas, who turned them over to the war department.

Secretary Stimson sought to make it appear that Senator Wheeler deliberately mailed the cards to army personnel in an effort to incite opposition to the Administration's legislation requesting extension of service.

THE TRUTH OF THE MATTER IS:

1.....The cards said nothing whatever of a draft service extension proposal. They contained speeches of Hoover, Nye, Kennedy, and President Roosevelt.

2.....The cards were mailed in June before General Marshall made his proposal to extend the service of the men in camps.

3.....Th e cards were mailed to over a million people.

4.....An outside magazine mailing list was used. The mail clerks neglected to remove the names of the few soldiers in the million.

5.....IT IS BELIEVED THAT SECRETARY STIMSON'S SMEAR WAS DESIGNED AS AN EVASION TO THE INQUIRY ADDRESSED TO HIM BY WHEELER ON WEDNESDAY ASKING HI' TO AFFIRM OR DENY REPORTS THAT 12,000 TO 20,000 AMERICAN TROOPS HAD BEEN LANDED AT SUEZ. STIMSON HAS NEVER MENTIONED NOR REPLIED TO SENATOR WHEELER'S INQUIRY!!!!

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NO REASON FOR ENTERING WAR

(An editorial published in the Denver Post, Denver, Colorado, July 21, 1941)

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* "We are arming ourselves not for any purpose of conquest *
* or intervention in foreign disputes. I repeat again that *
* I stand on the platform of our party: "WE WILL NOT PARTIC- *
* IPATE IN FOREIGN WARS, and WE WILL NOT SEND OUR ARMY, *
* NAVAL OR AIR FORCES TO FIGHT IN FOREIGN LANDS OUTSIDE *
* THE AMERICAS EXCEPT IN CASE OF ATTACK'." - Pres.Roosevelt *
* at Philadelphia, October 23, 1940. *

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Observing that "some of us have short memories nowadays", Amos Pinchot, New York city attorney, has written a letter to President Roosevelt r minding him of this and other peace pledges made during the 1940 campaign. Copies of this letter have been sent to senators and congressmen. Pinchot also has told the president: "TODAY THERE IS NO 'DEFENSE'

REASON IN GOD'S WORLD FOR ENTERING A DECLARED OR UNDECLARED WAR THAT DID NOT EXIST IN GREATER MEASURE WHEN YOU MADE YOUR PEACE PLEDGES LAST FALL AT PHILADELPHIA, HARTFORD, BOSTON, NEW YORK, BROOKLYN AND WASHINGTON."

It is a good idea to remind the president and members of congress of these peace pledges. They have forgotten too many campaign promises in the past. Washington is cluttered with repudiated pledges to cut down government spending, reduce taxes, stop the deficits. There are too many signs now that the peace assurances of 1940 are going the way of the economy promises of 1932.

The doctrine that we cannot defent ourselves and will be enslaved by Hitler unless we go forth and fight him in Africa or Asia or Europe on his home grounds "does not make sense". Pinchot insists in his letter to the president, "Yet, from the moment of your re-election, you have not ceased to use every expedient to spread a psychology of hysteria and blind funk in the United States. You have invited German attack and total war by aggressive, provocative acts that follow each other in ever-faster succession. Meanwhile, you and your spokesmen, in and out of congress, are reviling every loyal American who says now precisely what you said nine months ago, and whose cardinal sin is that he loves his own country better than any other,"

Postmaster General Walker was beating the war drum and spreading fear in Denver Saturday. What might happen to the United States in the event that Germany defeats Soviet Russia was the theme of his speech. "The people in the western part of this country have now come to a full realization that a complete Nazi conquest of Russia would bring a serious threat to our national security along the west coast and in the territory of Alaska", he declared. "America is threatened."

Sentiment against America involvement in the war has been especially pronounced in the West. Propaganda that the United States would be the next victim of Hitler aggression IF England falls and IF the Nazis get the British fleet hasn't stirred up much war sentiment in this part of the country. So now we are being dosed with speculation about how the Nazis might strike at the western part of the United States IF Russia falls and IF they occupy all of the Soviet territory.

It will not be easy to scare the American people into thinking there is any more immediate danger of a Nazi invasion thru Siberia and Alaska than there is from across the Atlantic ocean. We want to be prepared to stand off attack from any and every quarter. But American defense does not require the United States to plunge into the European war.

Postmaster General Walker did not exaggerate when he said that the cost of the national defense program "will test the spirit of self-sacrifice, the courage and patriotism of America". The most staggering tax bill in history is being prepared for the American people. And what it brings in will amount to less than one-third of what has been appropriated.

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America First Committee
Southern California Division
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Los Angeles, California

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IMMEDIATE RELEASE:

"NO A.E.F." is the slogan being sponsored by the America First Committee in an intensive membership drive. According to William T. Dodson, Executive Secretary of the Southern California Division, "The America First Committee stands with the overwhelming majority of the American public in demanding national unity for defense and peace".

In addition to the main headquarters at 3142 Wilshire Boulevard, Los Angeles, inquiries may be directed to the following offices and chapters:

ALHAMBRA: W. S. Magginetti, 29 S. Fourth Street

ANAHEIM: Rev. W. G. Smith, 422 West Broadway

GLENDALE: Mr. Wm. Hunt, 1309 Garden Street

HUNTINGTON PARK: Call Headquarters at FEderal 1168

LONG BEACH: Mr. Franklin G. Makepeace, 255 Nieto Ave.

LOS ANGELES: Mrs. Florence I. Albright, 3711 Wilshire Blvd.

PASADENA: Mr. Frank Johnson, 1025 Kendall Drive, San Gabriel

SANTA BARBARA: Mr. P. A. Donaldson, 315 E. Sola Street

SAN FERNANDO VALLEY: Mr. William P. Williams, 4307 Bakeman Avenue, North Hollywood

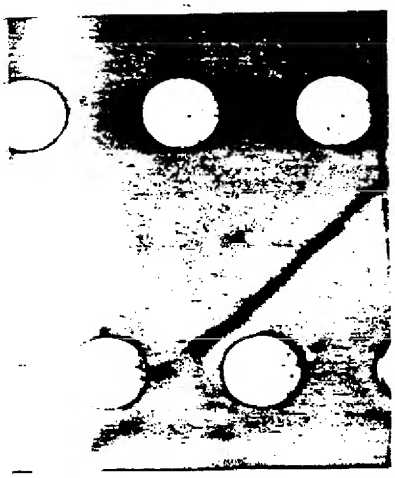
SANTA ANA: Mr. R. C. Hoiles, c/o Santa Ana Register

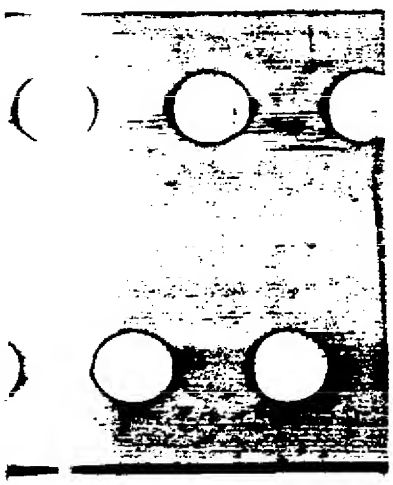
SANTA MONICA: Mr. A. E. Burton, 1245 20th Street

SAN PEDRO: Mrs. L. R. Thompson, 1151 Paseo del Mar St.

G004 5-204

******* ADVISORY WAR REFERENDUM *******





MR. NYE Mr. President, I ask consent to submit a concurrent resolution. I am joined in its submission by the Senator from Montana (MR. WHEELER), the Senator from Kansas (MR. CAPPER), the Senator from Wisconsin (MR. LA FOLLETTE), the Senator from Idaho (MR. CLARK), and the Senator from Minnesota (MR. SHIPSTEAD). I ask that the concurrent resolution be read at the desk.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the concurrent resolution will be read.

The legislative clerk read the concurrent resolution (S. Con. Res. 7), as follows:

Whereas the Democratic Party platform of 1940 stated: "We will not participate in foreign wars, and we will not send our Army, naval, or air forces to fight in foreign lands outside of the Americas, except in case of attack"; and

Whereas the Republican Party platform of 1940 states: "The Republican Party is firmly opposed to involving this Nation in foreign wars"; and

Whereas the President, during the 1940 campaign, stated: "I hate war now more than ever. I have one supreme determination--to do all I can to keep war away from these shores for all time. I stand with my party upon the platform adopted at Chicago." (Address to teamsters' union convention, Washington, September 11, 1940.)

"To Republicans and Democrats, to every man, woman, and child in the Nation, I say your President and your great Secretary of State are following the road to peace. We are arming ourselves not for any purposes of conquest or intervention in foreign disputes. I repeat that I stand on the platform of our party. * * * It is for peace I have labored; and it is for peace I shall labor all the days of my life." (Address in Convention Hall, Philadelphia, October 30, 1940.)

"I have said this before, but I shall say it again and again. Your boys are not going to be sent into any foreign wars; they are going into training to form a force so strong that by its very existence it will keep the threat of war far away from our shores." (Address at Boston Garden, October 30, 1940.)

"The first purpose of our foreign policy is to keep our country out of war." (Address at Cleveland, November 3, 1940.)

And

Whereas public-opinion polls taken since September 1939 show over 80 percent of the American people opposed to the United States entering the war; and the poll completed March 15, 1941, on the question, "If you were asked to vote on the question of the United States entering the war against Germany and Italy, how would you vote--to go into the war or to stay out of the war?" shows 83 percent opposed; and

Whereas the Congress has made clear its intention to keep out of foreign war through such provisions as it wrote into the Selective Service Act against use of those inducted in service outside the Western Hemisphere or the possessions of the United States: Now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED BY THE SENATE (THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES CONCURRING), That in order to ascertain the will of the people regarding the use of our naval and air forces, as well as land forces not inducted under the Selective Service Act, outside the Western Hemisphere or the Territorial possessions of the United States, the Congress shall, before it shall authorize, or support by appropriation, the use of such forces elsewhere, order a national advisory election of all eligible voters on the following question:

"Shall the Congress under existing conditions approve the use of land, naval, and air forces outside the Western Hemisphere or the Territorial possessions of the United States and appropriate funds necessary for such military and naval operations?"

Congress shall by law provide for the fulfillment and enforcement of the provisions of this act.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the concurrent resolution will be received and referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

(From the Congressional Record--Senate, March 27, 1941)

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA DIVISION
BUREAU OF RESEARCH

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AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

Southern California Division

Speaker's Bureau

TITLE: "FREEDOM OF THE SEAS"

By: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE RESEARCH BUREAU

VOLUME NO: 8

DATE: June 26, 1941

**********

DID YOU KNOW

That the President's call for "freedom of the seas" was really a demand for the right to help one country at war defeat another?

That the right to ship arms and other contraband to one belligerent without interference from its enemy is not recognized under international law, and has been rejected by both England and the United States?

That England has opposed, and would oppose now, genuine "freedom of the seas", since England's power to keep all supplies from reaching her enemy is her strongest weapon?

---

## "FREEDOM OF THE SEAS"

Our own Secretary of State admitted during the World War that "freedom of the seas" in wartime was determined by the belligerents:

> "The fact that the commerce of the United States is interrupted by Great Britain is consequent upon the superiority of the Navy on the high seas. History shows that whenever a country has possessed that su superiority our trade has been interrupted and that few artivles essential to the prosecution of the war have been allowed to reach its enemy from this country." (Secretary of State Bryan to Chairman of Senate Senate Committee on Foreign Relations on January 20, 1915; quoted in Report of Special Senate Committee on Investigation of the Munitions Industry, 74th Congress, part 5 , page 163).

Winston Churchill has pointed out that, at the close of the World War, the representatives of the Allies refused to accept "freedpm of the seas" as proposed by President Wilson:

"The second Point was then read.
'Absolute freedom of navigation upon the seas, outside territorial waters, alike in peace and in war, except as the seas may be closed in whole or in part by international action for the enforcement of international covenants.'

"This point about what is called the 'Freedom of the Seas' naturally aroused British concern.... Mr. Lloyd George said he could not accept this clause under any condition. If it had been in operation at the present time we should have lost the power of imposing a blockade. Germany had broken down almost as much from the effects of the blockade as from that of military operations.... Clenenceau and Sonnino agreed with Lloyd George." ("The Aftermath" -19 pages 103-104, report of a meeting of representatives of the Allies in the World War to discuss Woodrow Wilson's "Fourteen Points" as a basis for an armistice with Germany).

THE PRESIDENT DEMANDS FREEDOM OF THE SE S

In his "unlimited emergency" speech of May 27, 1941, President Roosevelt stated that "we re*assert the ancient American doctrine of freedom of the seas". His characterization of the doctrine ~~xfxfxxxxx~~ for which he contended was inaccurate on at least two counts. First, the doctrine he asserted was neither ancient nor "American" in the sense of representing American foreign policy. Second, the doctrine he asserted cannot be called the "freedom of the seas"; What he asked in reality was th "freedom to aid at will one belligerent nation without danger of interference by the other belligerent" - a freedom which our own government and the British government had denied on past occasions, and which the British would be the first to reject now, if it were to their advantage.

The sinking of the Robin Moor an American ship, in the South Atlantic, afforded the President another opportunity to raise indirectly the question of the "freedom of the seas", in an oratorical message to Congress on June 20, 1941. Of course, the manner in which the ship was sunk and the crew and passengers treated was unjustified and ruthless, but the President failed to mention the Robin Moor was carrying to a belligerent state (the Union of South Africa) a cargo of goods of which 70 pe per cent was banned as contraband of war by both Britian and Germany (see DID YOU KNOW,#1)/

REPEAL THE NEUTRALITY ACT?

The Neutrality Act is a substantial barrier to the President's conception of "freedom of the seas". Despite earlier demands for repeal of the Neutrality Act and return to "freedom of the se by Secretary of the Navy Knox (New York Times, May 22, 1941), th and Secretary of War Stimson (New York Times, May 22, 1941, the President stated at his press conference following the "Unlimit

emergency" of speech, that he was not then considering a request asking for repeal or amendment of the Neutrality Act (New York Times, May 29, 1941)/

The President's attitude therefore indicates three possibilities 1) he may have used the phrase "freedom of the seas" merely as a glittering oratorical attraction; or 2) he may plan to seek repeal or amendment of the Neutrality Act later; or 3) his concept of "freedom of the seas" may involve a course of action designed to prevent German warships from interfering with American aid to Britain, which may not conflict with the Neutrality Act. In view of the history in American foreign policy of "freedom of the seas", and of the background of the President's remarks, the latter course seems the most likely.

## "THE ANCIENT AMERICAN DOCTRINE"

In his "unlimited emergency" speech, the President referred to a few historical examples to prove America's devotion to "freedom of the seas". The irrelevance of those examples to the present situation is matched only by the omission from his speech of other and much more important historical instances. He cited our difficulties with the French in 1799, our war against the Barbary pirates a few years later, the War of 1812, and our assistance in ousting French from Mexicao, none of which was analogous to our present claim to the right to supply one belligerent with arms and contraband without interference from the other belligerent. Much more important is the fact that the President failed to mention the Civil War and the World War -- not to mention the Neutrality Act and the current war.

In the Civil War, the Union seized British ships which sought to run the Union blockade and to carry goods to the South. (Borchard and Lage, "Neutrality for the United States" (1937), page 15).
In the World War, despite merely formal protests made for the sake of the record, the Wilson administration actually acquiesced in the British blockade and the all-embracing ~~xxxxxxxx~~ contraband list adopted by the British, which exposed American trade with the neutrals of Europe and even South America to the complete control of Britain and the Allies (Borchard and Lage, pages 34, 36, 39, 43,61-62, 65, 72). The Neutrality Act, of course, limits our freedom of trade in time of war, and was adopted as an indication of strength, not weakness, in our desire to ~~xx~~ keep out of war.

In the current war, despite another mild protest made for the sake of the record, we have again acquiesced in the British blockade and an even more-embracing contraband list. We have acquiesced in the British system of "navicerts", under which our shippers must submit their cargo lists to British agents -- even if the cargo is destined for a neutral country -- in order to minimize interference with a voyage by British warship Now, we face a British system of "mailcerts", which amounts to a tax on American mail and operates on the same principle as the "navicerts (New York Times, June 24, 1941).

## FREEDOM TO AID A BELLIGERENT

The President's remarks showed clearly that what he means by "freedom of the seas" is freedom to send arms and other contraband to Britain and her Allies. This is not the "freedom of the seas" recognized under international law, which means the freedom of American shippers to trade freely with all belligerents. What he means by "freedom of the seas" is shown by his statement that we must help "cut down the losses on the high seas", although at the time of his speech no American ship was known to have been sunk. He is primarily concerned with ousting German ships from Atlantic waters. Whether or not that is wise cannot be determined unless the issue is presented for what it really is.

There is a war in progress. Naturally, Germany will seek to sink or capture British ships carrying arms or contraband, even if the cargoes come from the United States. If American ships carry contraband to ports belonging to part of the British Empire (belligerent territory) it is to be expected that German ships will seek to block such voyages. American ships on such voyages cannot claim exemption from visit and search, or even capture, by German ships, because they can be held liable to capture under the accepted rules of international law, which American courts helped to formulate. (Borchard and Lage, pages 16-17, 118-119)

## BRITAIN OPPOSES FREEDOM OF THE SEAS

Obviously, "freedom of the seas" is not the policy of the British government, which rejected it in the World War, and which rejects it in the current war. The British must always reject it, since their strongest weapon is the naval blockade, by which they seek to prevent any supplies from reaching their enemies. No President can profess to seek "freedom of the seas" if he accepts unreservedly the British policy.

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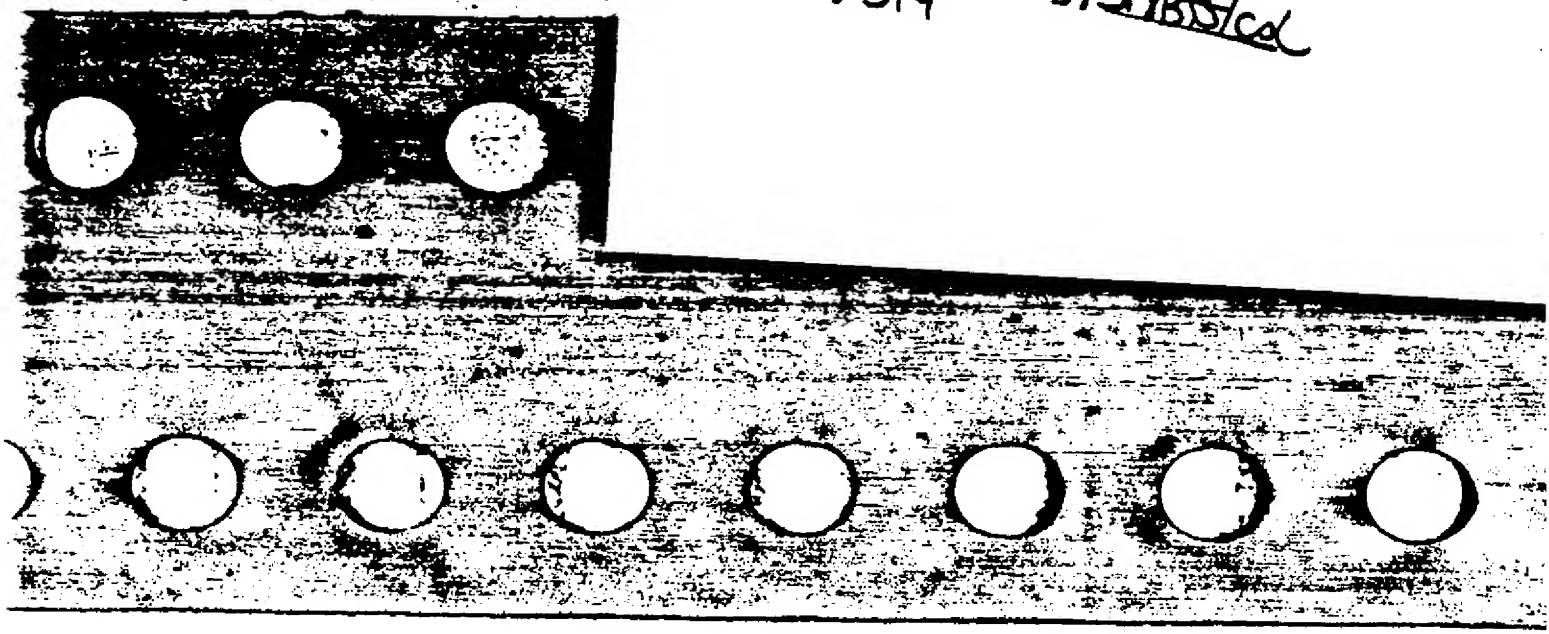
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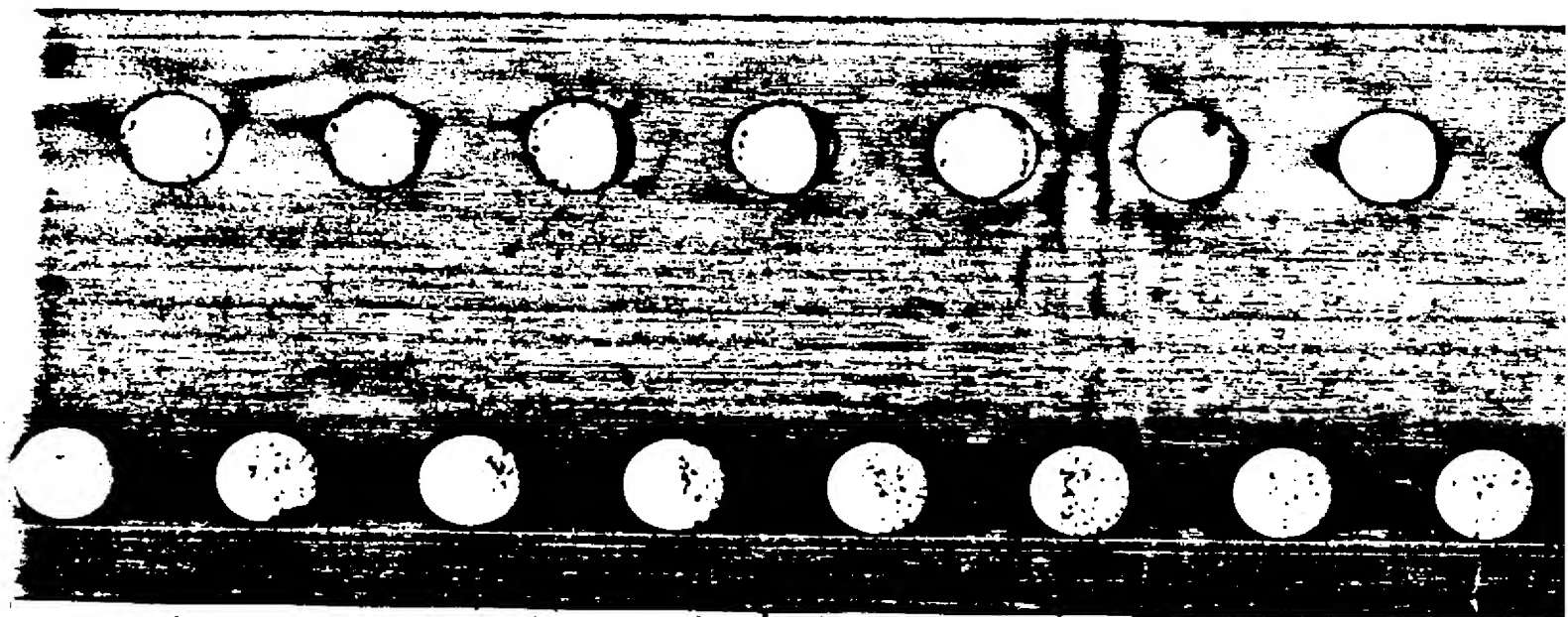
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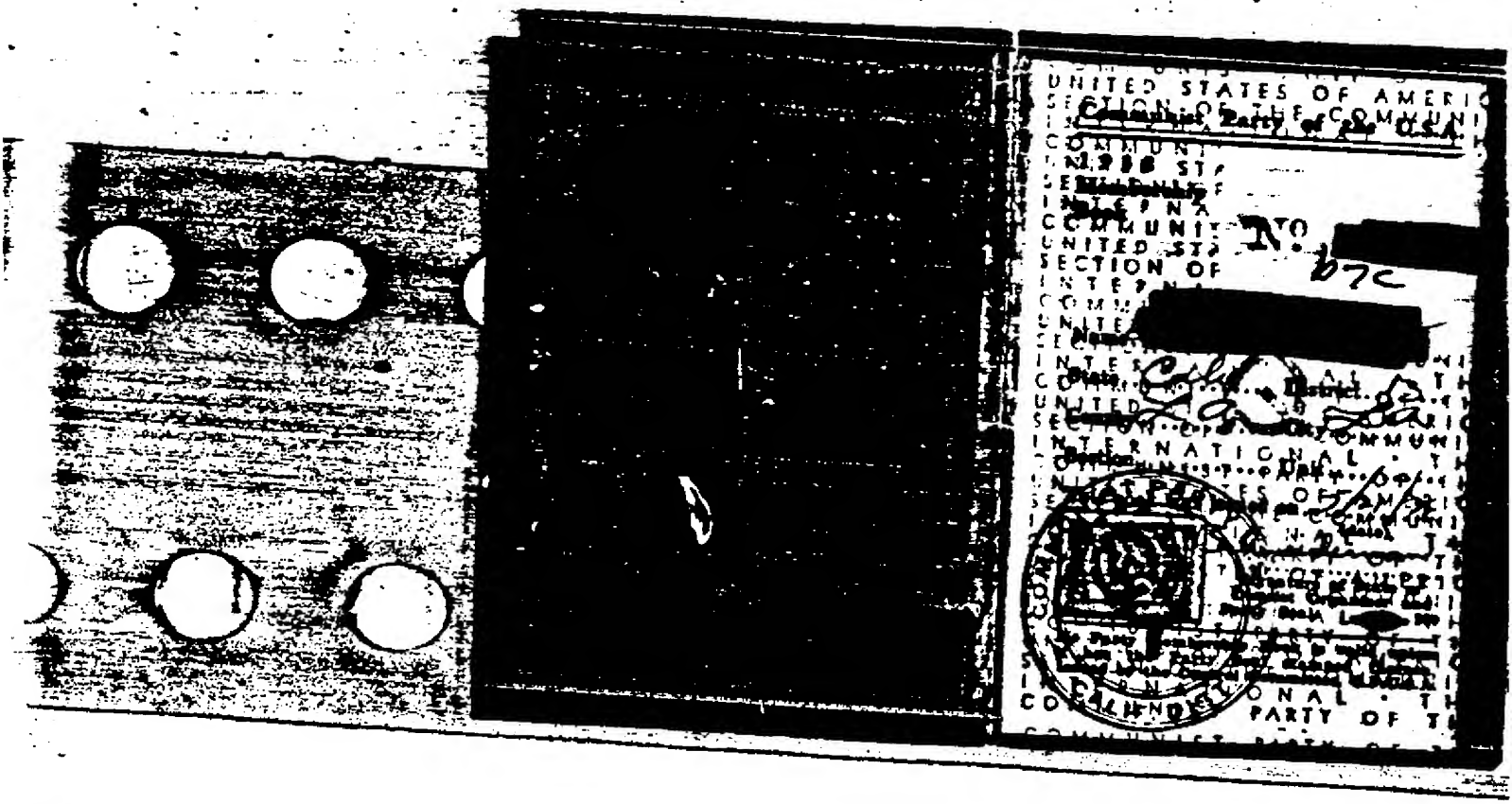
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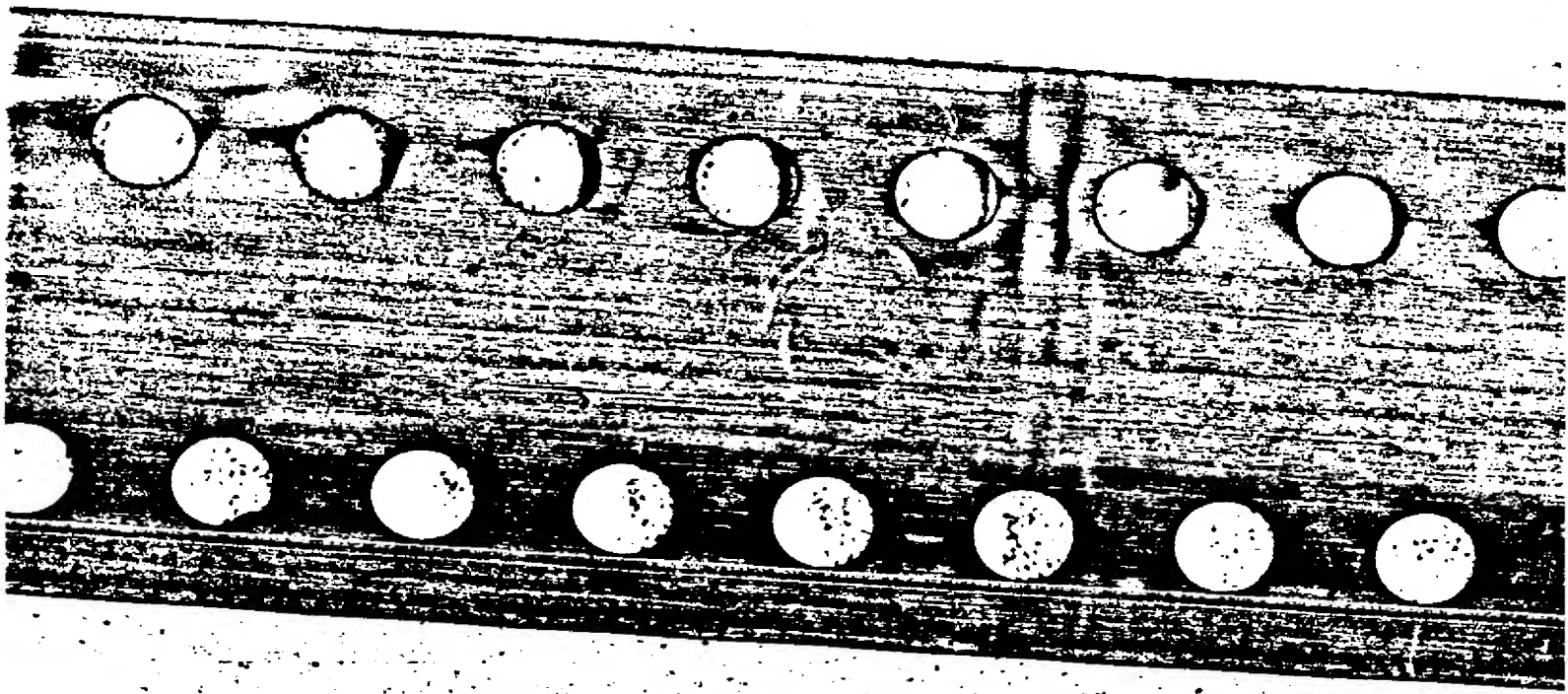
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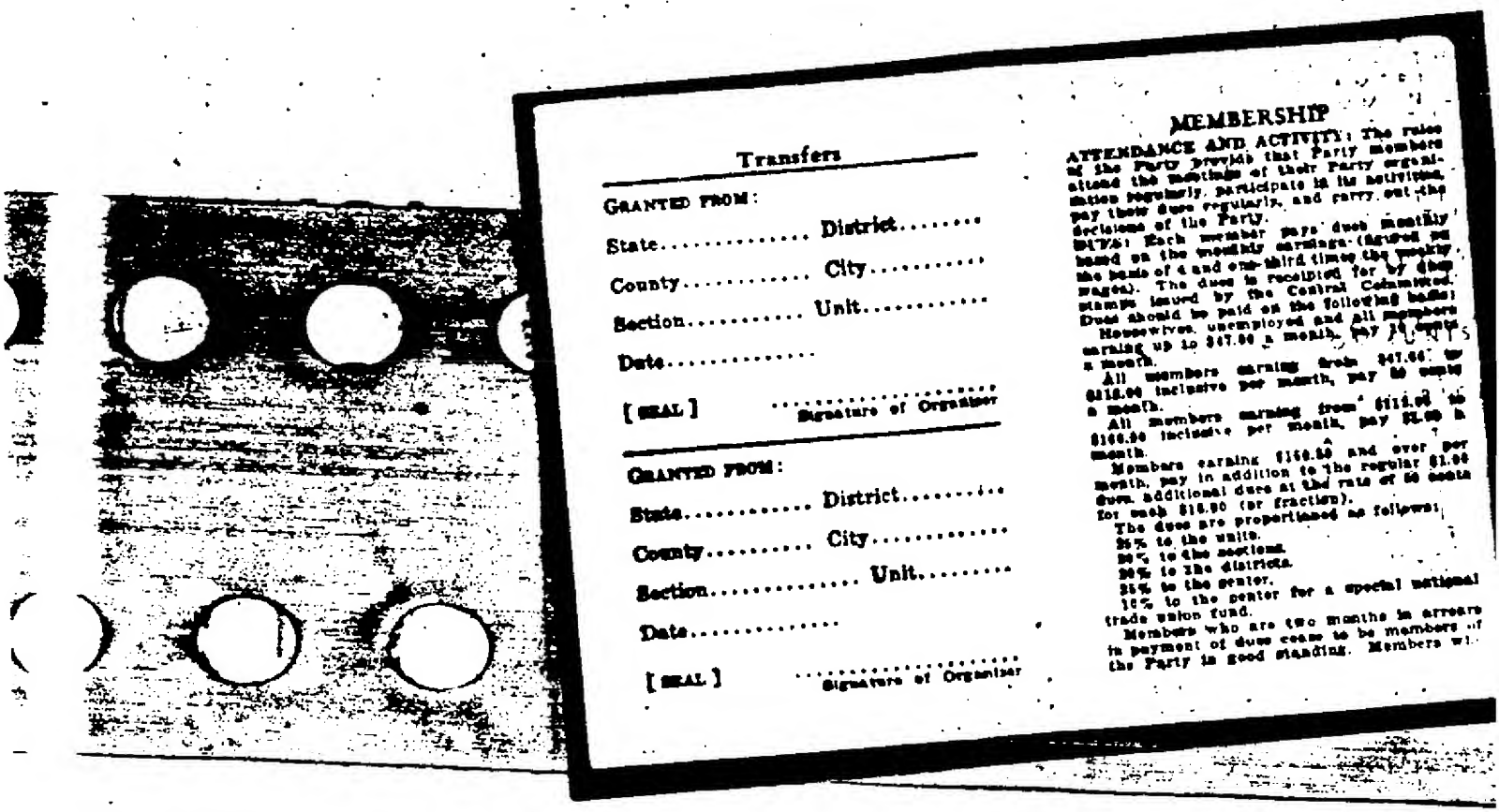
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UNITED STATES OF AMERI
Communist Party of the U.S.A.
No.
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Color
District
INTERNATIONAL
PARTY OF





## Transfers

GRANTED FROM:

State..... District.....

County..... City.....

Section..... Unit.....

Date.....

[SEAL] .....
Signature of Organizer

GRANTED FROM:

State..... District.....

County..... City.....

Section..... Unit.....

Date.....

[SEAL] .....
Signature of Organizer

## MEMBERSHIP

ATTENDANCE AND ACTIVITY: The rules of the Party provide that Party members attend the meetings of their Party organization regularly, participate in its activities, pay their dues regularly, and carry out the decisions of the Party.

DUES: Each member pays dues monthly based on the monthly earnings (figured on the basis of 4 and one-third times the weekly wages). The dues is recorded for by dues stamps issued by the Central Committee. Dues should be paid on the following basis:

Housewives, unemployed and all members earning up to $47.66 a month, pay 25 cents a month.

All members earning from $47.66 to $116.66 inclusive per month, pay 50 cents a month.

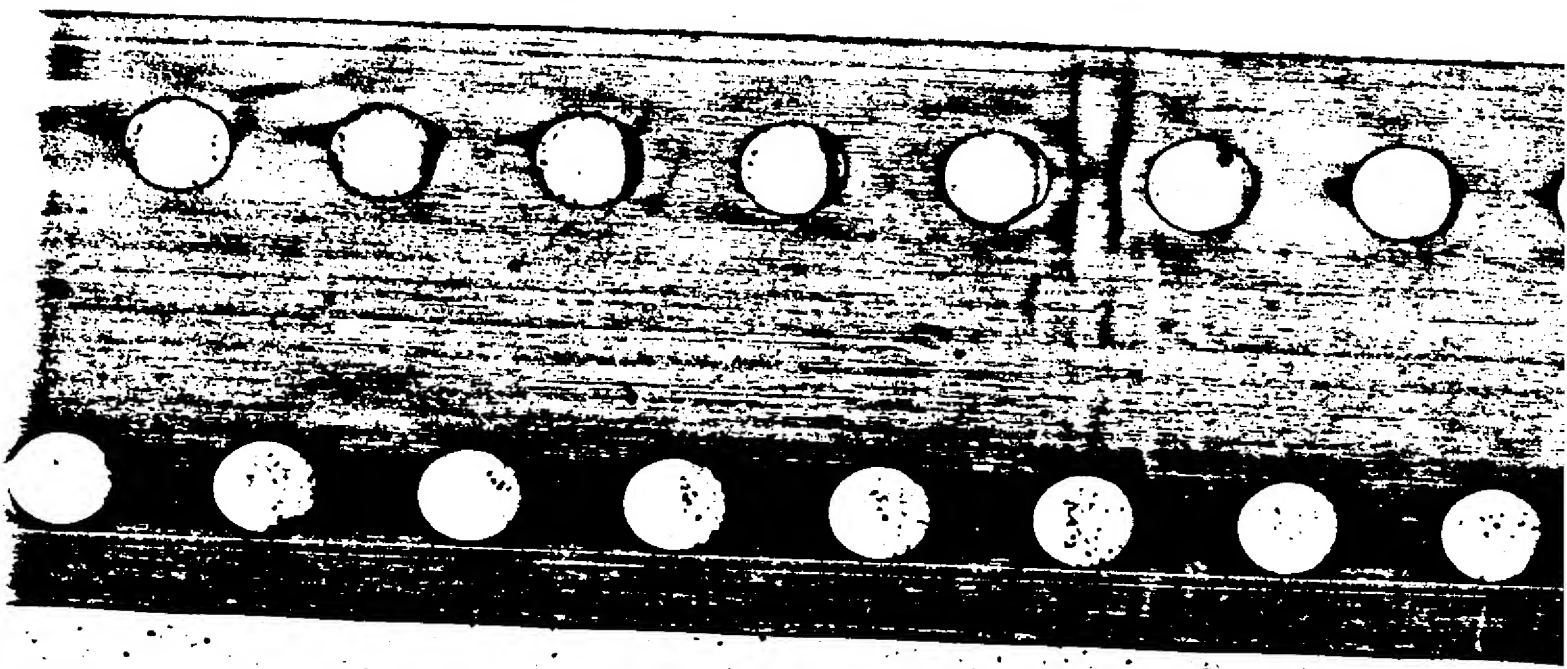
All members earning from $116.66 to $166.66 inclusive per month, pay $1.00 a month.

Members earning $166.66 and over per month, pay in addition to the regular $1.00 dues additional dues at the rate of 50 cents for each $16.66 (or fraction).

The dues are proportioned as follows:

35% to the units.
30% to the sections.
20% to the districts.
15% to the center.
10% to the center for a special national trade union fund.

Members who are two months in arrears in payment of dues cease to be members of the Party in good standing. Members wi



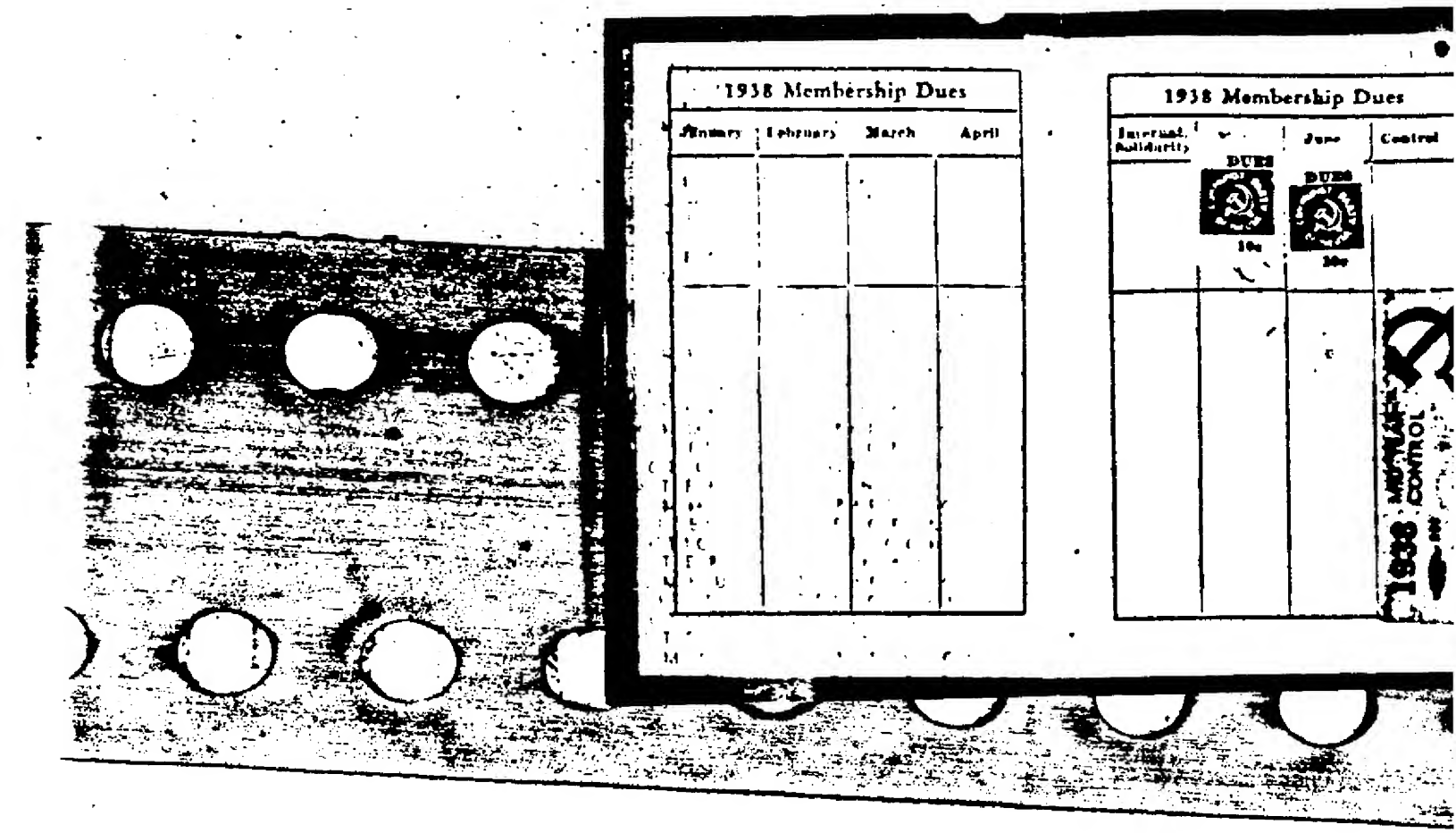
are four months in arrears are stricken from the Party rolls.

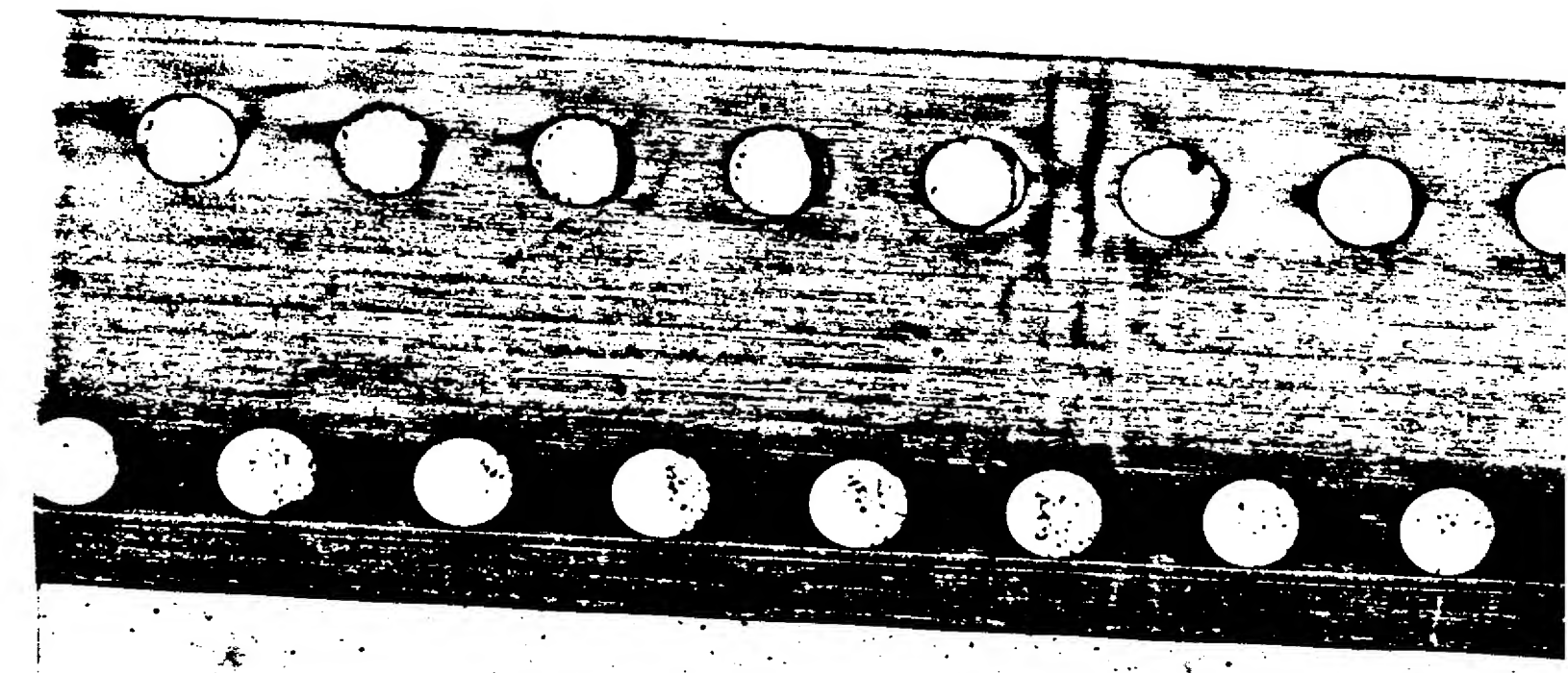
**INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY:** This is a special fund, contributed to by every member, as an act of our international solidarity with the Communist Parties of other countries that need our financial aid. Every member is to pay every four months an amount equal to one month's dues, based on the average of the previous four months' dues.

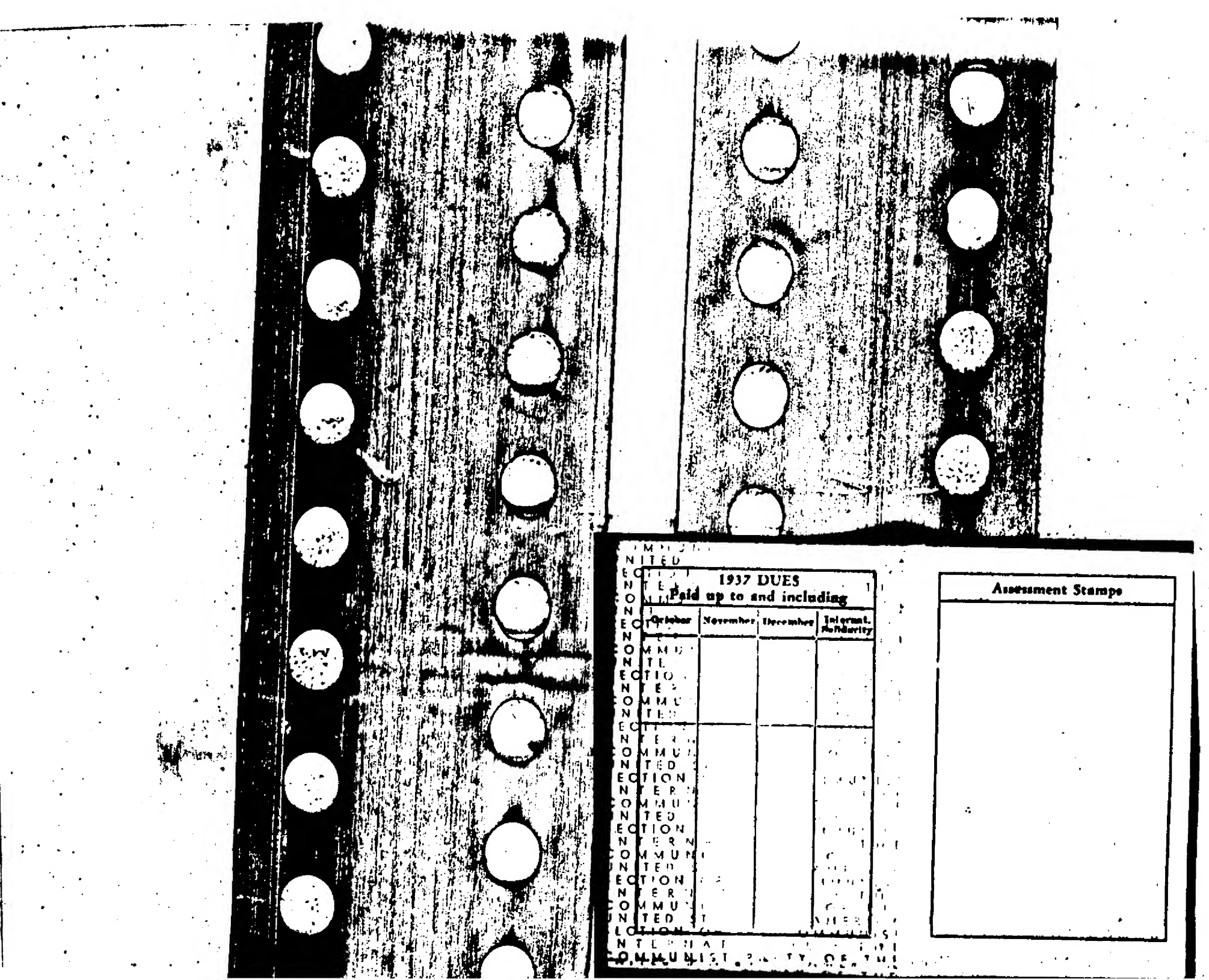
**ASSESSMENTS:** All local or district assessments or collections are prohibited except by special permission of the Central Committee. Special assessments may be levied by the National Convention or the Central Committee. No member is considered in good standing unless he purchases such special assessment stamps.

**TRANSFERS:** Members who move from one place to another, or have to go from one unit to another, must obtain a transfer from their units. No member shall be accepted by a new unit without a properly filled out transfer card. Before receiving transfers, members shall be in good standing and pay up all other financial obligations to their units.

**LEAVE OF ABSENCE:** No member has a right to take a leave of absence without a decision of his unit. An extended leave of absence, upon the recommendation of the unit, is acted upon by the higher committees of the Party. Before a leave of absence is given, the member shall pay up dues, etc., up to and including the end of the leave of absence period.

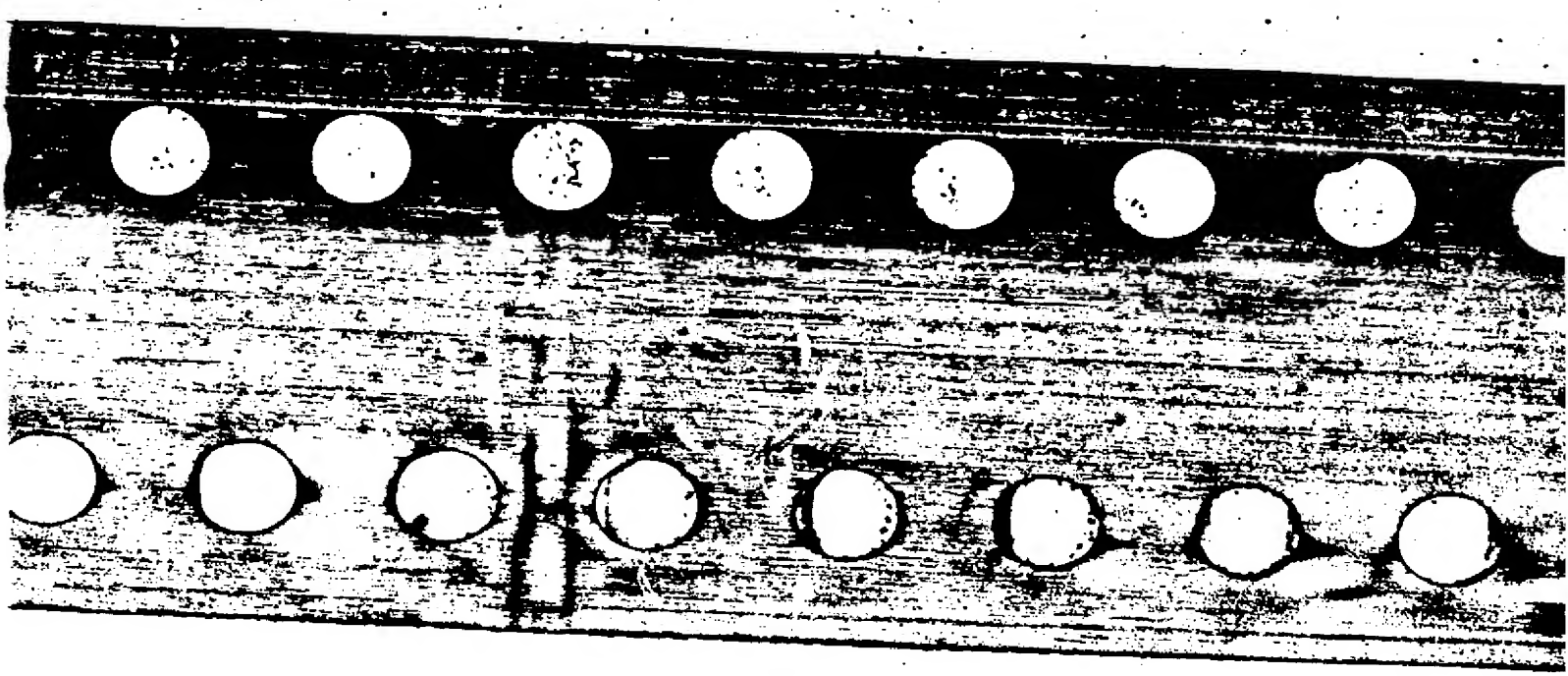

1938 Membership Dues
January
February
March
April
1938 Membership Dues
June
DUES
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DUES
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1938 MEMBERSHIP CONTROL

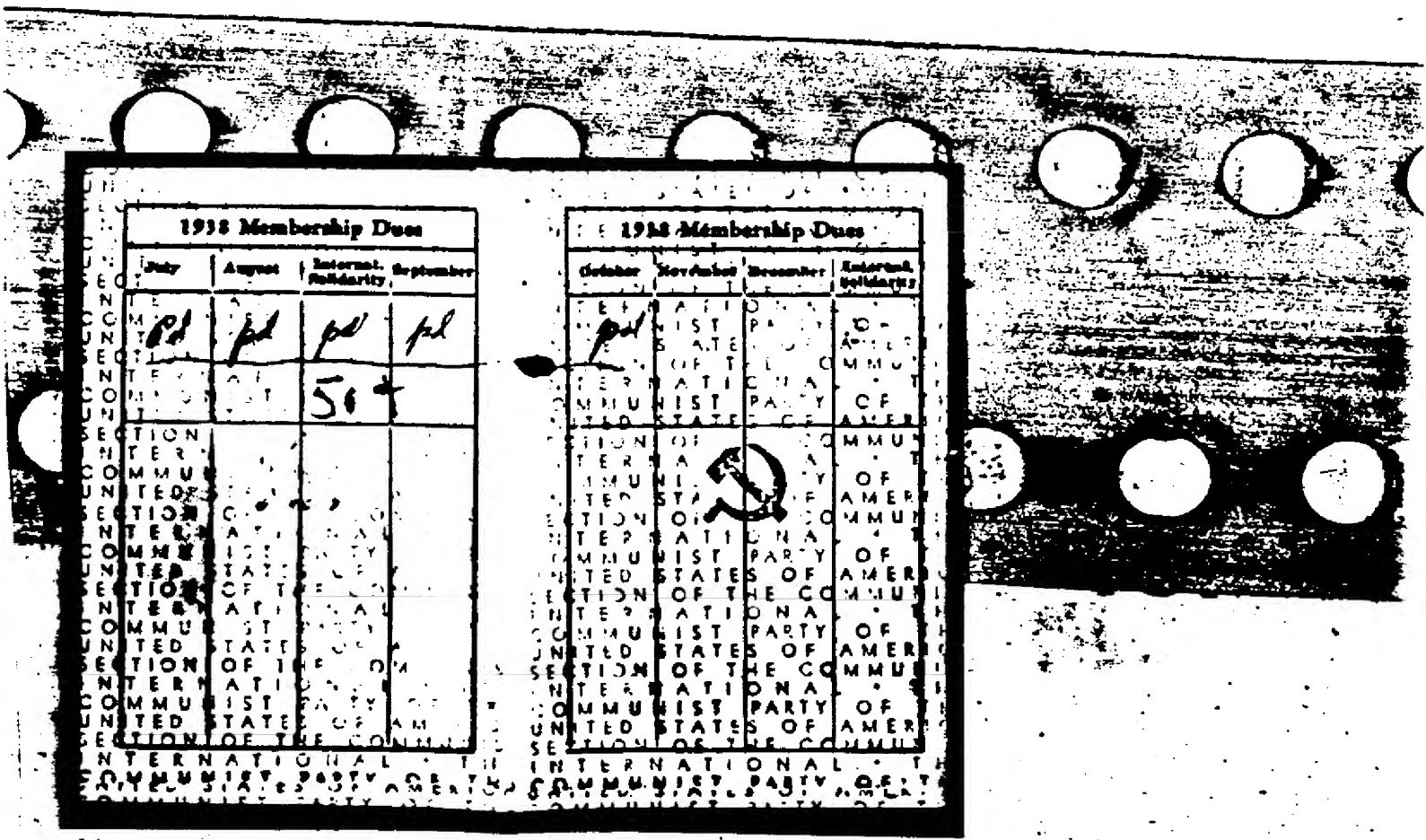


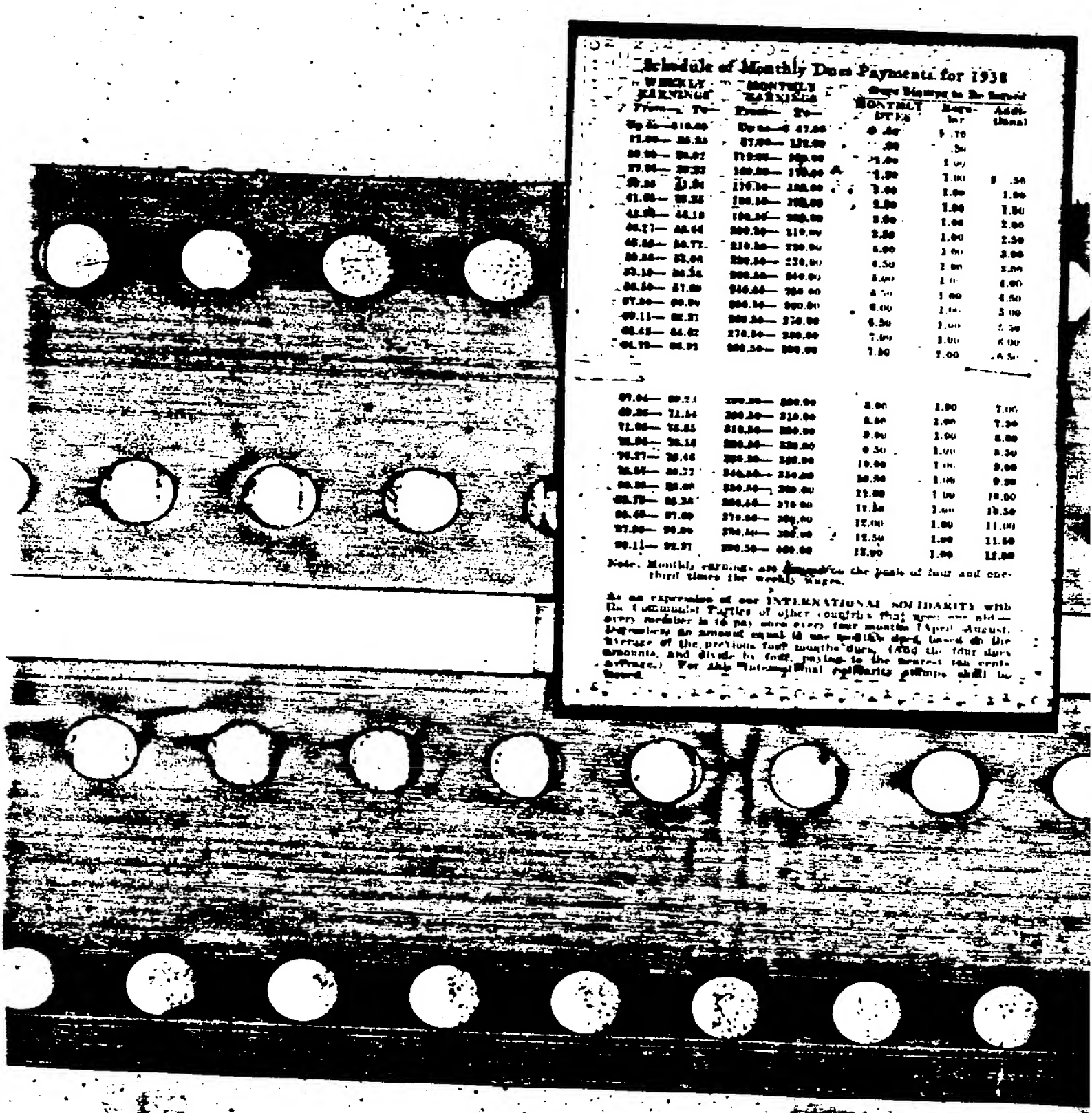


| 1937 DUES Paid up to and including | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| October | November | December | Int. Grant. Solidarity |
| | | | |

Assessment Stamps




1938 Membership Dues
July
August
Internat. Solidarity
September
1938 Membership Dues
October
November
December
Internat. Solidarity



## Schedule of Monthly Dues Payments for 1938

| WEEKLY EARNINGS From— To— | MONTHLY EARNINGS From— To— | Dues Payable to the Branch MONTHLY DUES | Regular | Additional |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Up to—$16.99 | Up to—$ 67.99 | $ .40 | $ .10 | |
| 17.00— 20.24 | 68.00— 80.99 | .50 | .50 | |
| 20.25— 23.49 | 81.00— 93.99 | .60 | 1.00 | |
| 23.50— 26.74 | 94.00— 106.99 | 1.00 | 1.00 | $ .50 |
| 26.75— 30.00 | 107.00— 120.00 | 1.00 | 1.00 | 1.00 |
| 30.01— 33.24 | 120.04— 132.99 | 1.00 | 1.00 | 1.50 |
| 33.25— 36.49 | 133.00— 145.99 | 1.00 | 1.00 | 2.00 |
| 36.50— 39.74 | 146.00— 158.99 | 1.00 | 1.00 | 2.50 |
| 39.75— 43.00 | 159.00— 172.00 | 1.00 | 1.00 | 3.00 |
| 43.01— 46.24 | 172.04— 184.99 | 1.00 | 1.00 | 3.50 |
| 46.25— 49.49 | 185.00— 197.99 | 1.00 | 1.00 | 4.00 |
| 49.50— 52.74 | 198.00— 210.99 | 1.00 | 1.00 | 4.50 |
| 52.75— 56.00 | 211.00— 224.00 | 1.00 | 1.00 | 5.00 |
| 56.01— 59.24 | 224.04— 236.99 | 1.00 | 1.00 | 5.50 |
| 59.25— 62.49 | 237.00— 249.99 | 1.00 | 1.00 | 6.00 |
| 62.50— 65.74 | 250.00— 262.99 | 1.00 | 1.00 | 6.50 |
| 65.75— 69.00 | 263.00— 276.00 | 1.00 | 1.00 | 7.00 |
| 69.01— 72.24 | 276.04— 288.99 | 1.00 | 1.00 | 7.50 |
| 72.25— 75.49 | 289.00— 301.99 | 1.00 | 1.00 | 8.00 |
| 75.50— 78.74 | 302.00— 314.99 | 1.00 | 1.00 | 8.50 |
| 78.75— 82.00 | 315.00— 328.00 | 1.00 | 1.00 | 9.00 |
| 82.01— 85.24 | 328.04— 340.99 | 1.00 | 1.00 | 9.50 |
| 85.25— 88.49 | 341.00— 353.99 | 1.00 | 1.00 | 10.00 |
| 88.50— 91.74 | 354.00— 366.99 | 1.00 | 1.00 | 10.50 |
| 91.75— 95.00 | 367.00— 380.00 | 1.00 | 1.00 | 11.00 |
| 95.01— 98.24 | 380.04— 392.99 | 1.00 | 1.00 | 11.50 |
| 98.25— 101.49 | 393.00— 405.99 | 1.00 | 1.00 | 12.00 |
| 101.50— 104.74 | 406.00— 418.99 | 1.00 | 1.00 | 12.50 |
| 104.75— 108.00 | 419.00— 432.00 | 1.00 | 1.00 | 13.00 |
| 108.01— 111.24 | 432.04— 444.99 | 1.00 | 1.00 | 13.50 |
| 111.25— 114.49 | 445.00— 457.99 | 1.00 | 1.00 | 14.00 |
| 114.50— 117.74 | 458.00— 470.99 | 1.00 | 1.00 | 14.50 |
| 117.75— 121.00 | 471.00— 484.00 | 1.00 | 1.00 | 15.00 |
| 121.01— 124.24 | 484.04— 496.99 | 1.00 | 1.00 | 15.50 |
| 124.25— 127.49 | 497.00— 509.99 | 1.00 | 1.00 | 16.00 |
| 127.50— 130.74 | 510.00— 522.99 | 1.00 | 1.00 | 16.50 |
| 130.75— 134.00 | 523.00— 536.00 | 1.00 | 1.00 | 17.00 |
| 134.01— 137.24 | 536.04— 548.99 | 1.00 | 1.00 | 17.50 |
| 137.25— 140.49 | 549.00— 561.99 | 1.00 | 1.00 | 18.00 |
| 140.50— 143.74 | 562.00— 574.99 | 1.00 | 1.00 | 18.50 |
| 143.75— 147.00 | 575.00— 588.00 | 1.00 | 1.00 | 19.00 |
| 147.01— 150.24 | 588.04— 600.99 | 1.00 | 1.00 | 19.50 |
| 150.25— 153.49 | 601.00— 613.99 | 1.00 | 1.00 | 20.00 |
| 153.50— 156.74 | 614.00— 626.99 | 1.00 | 1.00 | 20.50 |
| 156.75— 160.00 | 627.00— 640.00 | 1.00 | 1.00 | 21.00 |
| 160.01— 163.24 | 640.04— 652.99 | 1.00 | 1.00 | 21.50 |
| 163.25— 166.49 | 653.00— 665.99 | 1.00 | 1.00 | 22.00 |
| 166.50— 169.74 | 666.00— 678.99 | 1.00 | 1.00 | 22.50 |
| 169.75— 173.00 | 679.00— 692.00 | 1.00 | 1.00 | 23.00 |
| 173.01— 176.24 | 692.04— 704.99 | 1.00 | 1.00 | 23.50 |
| 176.25— 179.49 | 705.00— 717.99 | 1.00 | 1.00 | 24.00 |
| 179.50— 182.74 | 718.00— 730.99 | 1.00 | 1.00 | 24.50 |
| 182.75— 186.00 | 731.00— 744.00 | 1.00 | 1.00 | 25.00 |
| 186.01— 189.24 | 744.04— 756.99 | 1.00 | 1.00 | 25.50 |
| 189.25— 192.49 | 757.00— 769.99 | 1.00 | 1.00 | 26.00 |
| 192.50— 195.74 | 770.00— 782.99 | 1.00 | 1.00 | 26.50 |
| 195.75— 199.00 | 783.00— 796.00 | 1.00 | 1.00 | 27.00 |
| 199.01— 202.24 | 796.04— 808.99 | 1.00 | 1.00 | 27.50 |
| 202.25— 205.49 | 809.00— 821.99 | 1.00 | 1.00 | 28.00 |
| 205.50— 208.74 | 822.00— 834.99 | 1.00 | 1.00 | 28.50 |
| 208.75— 212.00 | 835.00— 848.00 | 1.00 | 1.00 | 29.00 |
| 212.01— 215.24 | 848.04— 860.99 | 1.00 | 1.00 | 29.50 |
| 215.25— 218.49 | 861.00— 873.99 | 1.00 | 1.00 | 30.00 |
| 218.50— 221.74 | 874.00— 886.99 | 1.00 | 1.00 | 30.50 |
| 221.75— 225.00 | 887.00— 900.00 | 1.00 | 1.00 | 31.00 |
| 225.01— 228.24 | 900.04— 912.99 | 1.00 | 1.00 | 31.50 |
| 228.25— 231.49 | 913.00— 925.99 | 1.00 | 1.00 | 32.00 |
| 231.50— 234.74 | 926.00— 938.99 | 1.00 | 1.00 | 32.50 |
| 234.75— 238.00 | 939.00— 952.00 | 1.00 | 1.00 | 33.00 |
| 238.01— 241.24 | 952.04— 964.99 | 1.00 | 1.00 | 33.50 |
| 241.25— 244.49 | 965.00— 977.99 | 1.00 | 1.00 | 34.00 |
| 244.50— 247.74 | 978.00— 990.99 | 1.00 | 1.00 | 34.50 |
| 247.75— 251.00 | 991.00— 1004.00 | 1.00 | 1.00 | 35.00 |

Note. Monthly earnings are computed on the basis of four and one-third times the weekly wages.

As an expression of our INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY with the Communist Parties of other countries that [illegible] every member is to pay once every four months (April, August, [illegible]) an amount equal to one month's dues, based on the average of the previous four months' dues. (Add the four dues amounts, and divide by four, owing to the nearest ten cents average.) For this [illegible] stamps shall be issued.